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July-September, 1955

Vol. 1, No. 3

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THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

(Official Organ of the Indian Institute of Public Administration)

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PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

Public Servant in a Democracy	Govind Ballabh Pant
Government in the Communal Villages of Israel	Edwin Samuel
Accountability of Administration	N. V. Gadgil
Principles of Selection in Public Services	R. C. Dutt
Democratisation in Administration	R. K. Patil
Public Corporations in Japan	Shiro Okabe
Reorganising the Indian Income-tax Department	Indarjit Singh
On Bureaucracy	S. V. Kogekar
Targets & Stock-taking	S. T. Merani
Problems of Government Publicity in India	S. R. Gupta

Issued Quarterly

Single Copy
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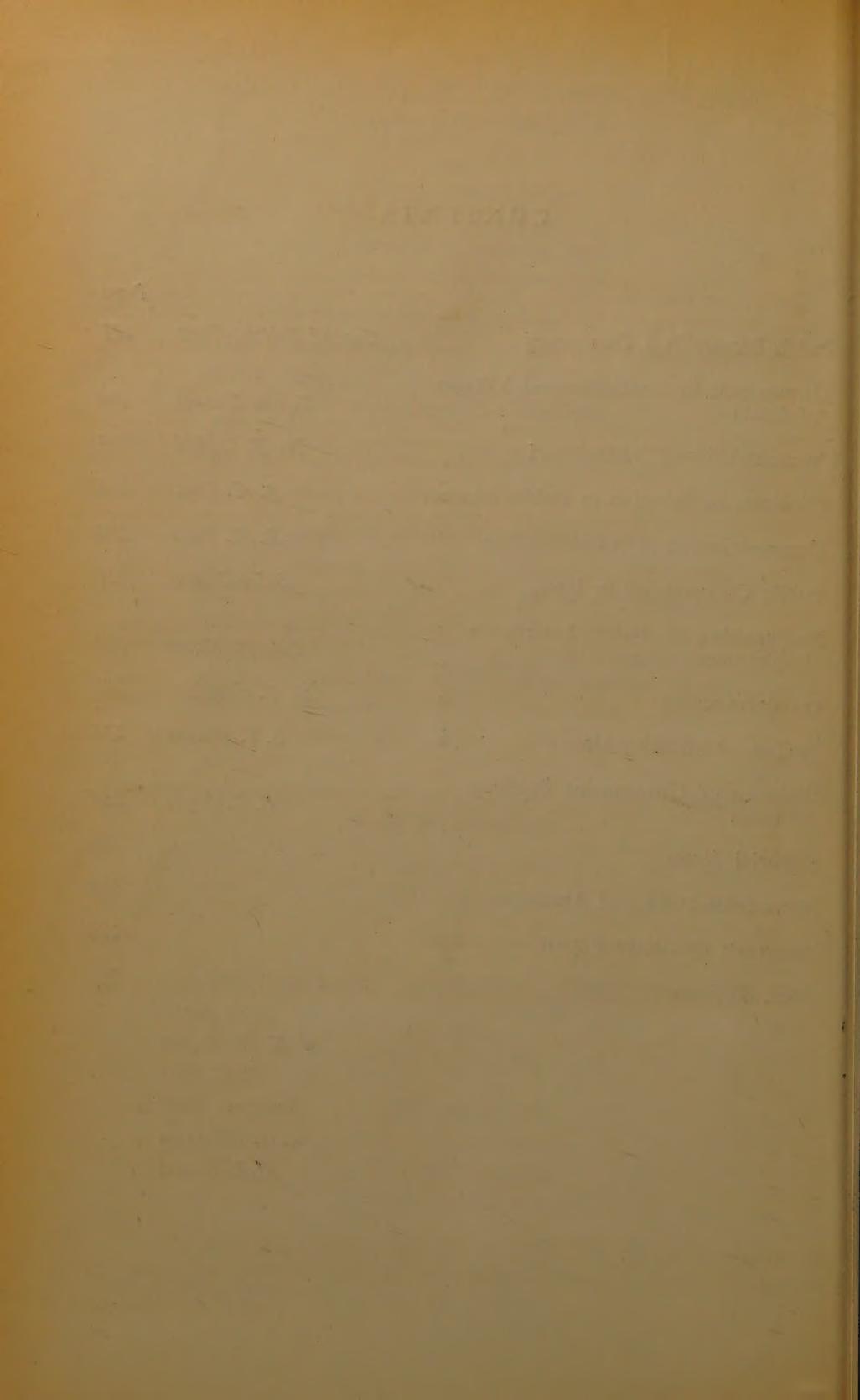
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(The views expressed in the signed articles are the personal opinions of the contributors and are in no sense official, nor is the Indian Institute of Public Administration responsible for them.)

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Public Servant in a Democracy	<i>Govind Ballabh Pant</i> 181
Government in the Communal Villages of Israel	<i>Edwin Samuel</i> 184
Accountability of Administration	<i>N. V. Gadgil</i> 193
Principles of Selection in Public Services	<i>R. C. Dutt</i> 204
Democratisation in Administration	<i>R. K. Patil</i> 212
Public Corporations in Japan	<i>Shiro Okabe</i> 217
Reorganising the Indian Income-tax Department	<i>Indarjit Singh</i> 224
On Bureaucracy	<i>S. V. Kogekar</i> 240
Targets and Stock-taking	<i>S. T. Merani</i> 251
Problems of Government Publicity in India	<i>S. R. Gupta</i> 254
Editorial Notes	266
News from India and Abroad	267
Director's Quarterly Report	274
Book Reviews	277
	<i>D. G. Karve</i>
	<i>V. K. N. Menon</i>
	<i>R. C. Dutt</i>
	<i>Humayun Kabir</i>
	<i>K. G. Saiyidain</i>
	<i>G. L. Bansal</i>



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THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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Public Servant in a Democracy

[*These extracts from a talk delivered on the 18th August, 1955, by SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT, Minister for Home Affairs, Government of India, are reproduced by the courtesy of All India Radio.—Ed.*]

“INDIA is now a democratic Republican State. The Directive Principles enshrined in its Constitution dictate the needs of formulating and carrying out policy for the advent of a welfare State on a socialistic pattern as quickly as possible. These objectives lay a heavy and onerous task on the instruments and mechanism that translate policy into practice, *viz.*, the Civil Service.

“These new responsibilities require the proper development of new arts of what may be called social and economic engineering. We inherited what was called, perhaps not quite wrongly, a bureaucratic machine. This machine had its own advantage too. Without system, without regularity, without discipline, no organisation can function but the machine which was designed for different times and with a different purpose has now to be adjusted to suit new needs so as to be more congenial to our soil, to our characteristics and to our traditions.

“The need, however, for methodical ways of work which characterised the public services in the past, is always there whether the system of administration be bureaucratic or democratic or republican or revolutionary but there is something which is superior and without which everything loses much of its worth. That is the soul of administration, the spirit of administration, and if soul and spirit function in a proper way, everything else will follow.”

“The First Five Year Plan is nearing completion and the Second is on the anvil. It is going to be a prodigious effort

which for proper execution will require an army of Civil Servants, responsible, responsive, honest and imbued with a sense of deep devotion to duty. Mere mechanical efficiency of work is not enough. The Services have to give of their best and to put themselves heart and soul on to their work so that the best that they are capable of is put to the service of the country and is utilized to the maximum advantage. We have to stimulate the dormant energy and to harness the immense manpower of India so that life everywhere may be fully revivified and revitalised.

“The new tasks of the Civil Servants are therefore all comprehensive and include planning, control and guidance of the entire economic as well as social activities.... The manner in which work is done and its efficiency now directly impinge on the lives of individual citizens. The welfare of the people will to an evergrowing extent depend on the imagination and sympathy and the efficiency with which work is understood and done by the Civil Servants.

“A close analysis of the various components of the vast intricate mechanism that has to handle and grapple with these problems of growing moment and import will be necessary so that proper comprehension of its overall functions and requirements may be possible and automatic checks and controls and adjustments may be provided to ensure the speed of work without impairing efficiency.

“These are the problems that inhere in the running of any large concern and with them are linked the questions such as those of recruitment, training, inter-departmental co-ordination, effective delegation of authority at all levels..., rationalisation of procedure, elimination of cumbersome apparatus of forms, maintenance of happy personnel relations to evoke the best out of colleagues or subordinates, provision of effective punishments and suitable rewards where necessary, proper incentives for efficient work, reduction of time required for taking decision, prompt attendance to correspondence, even distribution of work load, quick flow of communication vertically and horizontally, constant evolution and appraisal of effort, and continuous scrutiny of methods of work for introducing improvements.

“Another very important factor for public servants to bear in mind is with regard to proper use of public funds. The tax-payer's money is hard-earned money and Government are

Trustees of the public funds to ensure that every single pie of it is properly spent and utilised for the fullest benefit of the citizens. Sometimes those who have to spend this money seem to overlook the supreme duty that full worth has to be extracted out of the money spent.

“It is apt to be forgotten that this money is more sacred than their own and no part of it has to be spent in any wasteful manner. A proper climate of economy has to be produced. Economy never means sacrifice of efficiency or of the objectives. The Welfare-State ideal will require the expenditure of huge sums on schemes of public weal, benefit or advantage. These sums must be spent but they must be well spent with care and prudence so that while on the one hand waste is eliminated on the other the purpose underlying the expenditure is completely achieved.”



“Equally important is the consideration of keeping one’s conduct above reproach and criticism and, like Caesar’s wife, to be above suspicion.”



“The problem of administration is not mechanical. It is essentially human. Unless therefore it is approached in that right spirit with sympathy, solicitude and understanding the desired results become difficult of achievement. The administrators have to serve the people because that is the only purpose for which they can and they ought to exist. Every ounce of their energy, their intellect, their capacity has to be surrendered to the devoted service of their masters, the people. That has to be their all-consuming passion, and their guiding mission. It needs a full missionary approach for results to be abiding and sweet, and to carry succour and service and light and hope to those still living in hamlets and hutments throughout the country and to apply the soothing balm to the sufferers.”

Government in the Communal Villages of Israel

The Hon. Edwin Samuel, C.M.G.

THE first communal village (*kibbutz* in Hebrew: plural, *kibbutzim*) was founded nearly fifty years ago. There are today nearly 250 of them with a total population of over 80,000. The *kibbutz* in Israel has thus passed out of the experimental stage and can be regarded as a going concern. It is not merely a form of economic organization ; there is a social—even a spiritual—movement behind it, involving renunciation of all property by the individual. For that reason, a description of the *kibbutz* movement and of government in the *kibbutz* may be of particular interest to readers in India, where—if I understand correctly—individual renunciation of wealth from idealistic motives still occurs.

There are many young Jewish men and women in Israel—and abroad—who decide to enter a *kibbutz* as a life vocation, much in the same way that Catholic girls decide to enter a convent to become nuns. In both cases, property is renounced but, in the *kibbutz*, celibacy is not required. Husbands and wives live together in the same *kibbutz* as their own children and, often with their own parents (the children's grandparents). Husband and wife are each members of the *kibbutz* in their own right. If the husband goes into the army and is killed in action, his widow remains a member of the *kibbutz* in which she, too, works. The children continue to be maintained and educated by the *kibbutz*. We have here the most complete form of the welfare state, where death of the head of the family does not even involve an application by the widow for assistance : she and her children get it automatically.

All the children in each *kibbutz* are brought up together in communal boarding schools in the centre of the *kibbutz*, according to their age groups. There are houses for the infants, with day and night nurseries, served by the women of the *kibbutz* : there is a kindergarten, an elementary school and, in the older and larger *kibbutzim*, a secondary school. The children see their parents when the parents

come back from work in the evening, and can spend all the Sabbath with their parents. There is some discussion still whether it is psychologically sound for infants to be separated from their parents, even in the same village. It undoubtedly allows working parents to get a good night's rest : it frees a proportion of young mothers for work on the farm (some must serve in the children's houses anyhow : each can look after three children, however, and not one). Nevertheless, in a few *kibbutzim*, children sleep with their parents and only go to the kindergarten or school during the day.

The grandparents in the *kibbutz* are mostly beyond working age : but they do odd jobs. Few of them are socialists ; and many of them are not inspired by the high ideals that animate their sons or daughters who are the working members of the *kibbutz*. Although there are *kibbutzim* that follow completely Jewish religious tradition and ritual, most *kibbutzim* do not. Yet, even in these, special provision is made for the grandparents. They have their own little synagogues and a separate *kosher* kitchen in which their food can be prepared according to the strict prescriptions of the Talmud. Some grandparents, however, eat together with the rest of the community.

The main achievement of the *kibbutz* movement has been the complete abolition of a money economy. Apart from the *kibbutz* treasurer, no *kibbutz* member—unless he has to go to town—ever carries money on him : nor does he ever need it in the village. Everything is provided free of charge by the community in return for the work each member does for the community. Each young man or woman or married couple gets a furnished room rent free. They get all their meals free. They are given whatever clothes they need for work and a "best suit" for Sabbaths and holidays. They can draw soap, razor blades, pencils and other small essentials from the village store. Their clothes are washed, repaired and, if necessary replaced by the village laundry and sewing room. They can say what materials, colour and cut they would like their new clothes to have : but as everyone, even the women, dresses very simply, this is no problem. No *kibbutz* woman would wish to be seen wearing lace or jewellery or lipstick. There is no fixed quantity of anything allowed to each member during the year : each is supplied with what he needs. For example, the teachers may need only one pair of boots each a year, whereas the ploughmen may need two pairs each.

Even individual idiosyncracies are taken into account. If one of the ploughmen drags his feet, and scuffs his boots so badly that he needs three pairs a year, he is asked by the clothing allocation committee to be more careful. If that is beyond him, they issue him with three pairs of boots a year.

Life in a *kibbutz* thus depends on a high level of self-control by each individual member. Nothing is kept locked up. There is no village policeman. Occasional disputes between members are amicably settled by a special group of members elected for that purpose. If a member does not fit into the community, he is asked to leave ; or leaves of his own accord, taking none of the wealth of the *kibbutz* with him, except his clothes and a small sum of money to tide him over until he is established elsewhere. For that reason, it is not easy to get into a *kibbutz*. You must be known and vouched for personally by a *kibbutz* member, or belong to a youth movement affiliated with the *kibbutz* movement. Even so, you must serve a year's probation before you become a full member. If during this year, you show yourself to be a hard worker, always ready to lend a hand in an emergency ; if you do not ask for too many cigarettes from the store when the harvest is bad ; if you get on well with the other members of the *kibbutz*, then, at the end of the year, you'll be asked to stay on for life.

This is not the first attempt in the history of the world to set up rural utopias. Many were founded, for example, in the United States in the last two hundred years, but few remain today. They were islands of idealism in an ocean of ruthless economic individualism. The high principles of the founders could but rarely be handed on to the second and third generations. As often as not, the founders had some peculiar religious ideas of their own which were rejected by their descendants. Not so with the *kibbutzim* : they are pragmatic in outlook. It is not even Judaism that is their mainspring but a whole series of motives and influences that happened to co-exist in the 1920's. When superimposed, they were found to have the force of a tidal wave.

The first motive was Jewish nationalism that eventually created the State of Israel. The *kibbutzim* were regarded as a means to the regeneration of Jewish character and, in fact, played a leading part in the struggle for national independence in Palestine.

The second motive was socialism. Most of the early *kibbutz* leaders came to Palestine from Eastern Europe after World War I. They were deeply impressed by the Russian Revolution and were often Marxist in outlook. But they were not Communist (there are Jewish Communists in Israel today) and, in fact, were detested by orthodox Communists in Russia and elsewhere for their "nationalist deviationism". Russia has its own communal villages the *kolkhoz*. But the *kibbutz* regards the *kolkhoz* as very inferior. The *kolkhoz* still allows the individual member to retain a few acres for his own private use, on which he may raise some cows, some chickens and some vegetables. In the *kibbutz*, this would never be allowed. Secondly, in the *kolkhoz*, each housewife cooks separately for her husband and children : in the *kibbutz*, all members eat together in a large communal dining-room, with a communal kitchen attached. Thirdly, in the *kolkhoz*, each member is paid in cash according to his individual output : in the *kibbutz*, there is no wage system at all. The nearest approach in Russia to the *kibbutz* is in *Sovkhoz*, the Russian state farms, while there are in Israel other types of villages, called the *Meshek Shitufi* (joint farms) resembling the *kolkhoz*. All these types spring from socialist ideals.

The third motive was the desire to transform the largely commercial community of Jews from Eastern Europe, into manual workers in Palestine. In Poland, it was the Poles who tilled the fields and manned the factories : Jews were shopkeepers, the middlemen. In Palestine, if they wanted a State of their own, they must learn to be tractor drivers and machine tool operators, working with their own hands.

Arising from this was the fourth motive, a "back to the land" movement among an urban Jewish population in Europe. For centuries, Jews were prohibited in many countries from owning land. Even when these restrictions were rescinded, Jews preferred to invest in movable rather than in immovable property, as they never knew when they might have to move in a hurry. Hence the desire to own land in Palestine, to live in the country, to live off their own farm products, became a real passion among many Jews.

It is not easy to uproot townsmen and turn them into peasants. But Jews in the *kibbutz* movement were largely immigrants (later, many Palestine-born children of town dwellers

joined the *kibbutz* youth movements) : they were on the move anyhow; and it was no great hardship to them, on arriving from Europe at a Palestine port, to go a few miles further to a *kibbutz* in the country. The towns in Palestine in the 1920's had few amenities—by no means all houses had piped water or electric light; nor were there theatres, cinemas, orchestras and museums to make city life attractive.

Another influence was the poverty of the immigrants. If one man joining a *kibbutz* puts in ten pounds and another only puts in five, the first feels aggrieved. But if none has anything, all are equal.

The capital for establishing these 300 *kibbutzim* was largely public money, especially in the earlier years. The World Zionist Movement and the powerful General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine were behind the Jewish colonization projects in Palestine. Millions of pounds were poured in as settlement capital and long term loans. The land used by the *kibbutzim* remains public property and is leased to the *kibbutzim* at a moderate rental. Hence there is no chance of land speculation by the *kibbutzim*.

Among the influences that led to the success of the *kibbutz* movement is the fact that the early members were all young, mostly under thirty. They brought to the *kibbutz* not only idealism but a disdain of comfort. Living at first under canvas was no hardship; it merely exhilarated them. It was all a great adventure. That spirit still animates the children of the original *kibbutz* members who, as often as not, form their own groups and go off (as in the ancient Greek city states) to found new *kibbutzim* in the southern desert or on the frontiers.

Lastly, it must be remembered that most Jewish immigrants to Palestine came from typical nineteenth century large families. Arriving in ones and twos, they found in the *kibbutz* something of the warmth of life in the large family that they had known in their childhood. It was better to live in a *kibbutz* than as a factory worker in a poor room in a back street of some town.

All these motives and influences, combined together, made the *kibbutz* movement an outstanding success. Without them, or at least a combination of several of them, it is doubtful whether the *kibbutz* can be successfully transplanted

to other countries (although Burma now seems anxious to try). Even in Palestine, the *kibbutz* movement was not developed from a blue print : it started quite by accident in 1908, on a tract of land south of the Sea of Galilee. This land, owned by the Jewish National Fund, was being worked by a group of hired Jewish immigrant labourers, under a foreman. The foreman was hard : the labourers went on strike : the management threatened to stop cultivation. The labourers then offered to take over the farm collectively without a foreman. This was accepted, and thus was born the future village of Degania, the "mother" of all *kibbutzim* and of the *kibbutz* movement.

Collective cultivation, through sub-division of labour, specialization and mechanization, was found to have great economic advantages. Children's houses were established, not because of any Platonic theory of education, but because it was cheaper to keep the flies out of the window if only one house had to be screened. And there was less chance of typhoid and dysentery if a specially hygienic children's kitchen was established instead of having each child's food cooked by its mother. In a wild frontier country, where European farms were constantly exposed to Arab attack, the greater cohesion and discipline of the *kibbutz* was a great asset to the defence.

There are today three main federations of *kibbutzim* in Israel. Two of the federations consist of smaller villages—up to 500 souls : one federation is less Marxist in outlook : the other is more Marxist. The third federation is of the larger villages—up to 2,000 souls, where they do not believe that there is any need to limit the size of the community in order to secure the necessary social cohesion. The members of these large villages are drawn indiscriminately from the right and left wing socialist parties. Recent political events abroad caused so much dissension in the larger villages that many of them have, in fact, split in the last few years and have had to be reconstituted on a small and more homogeneous basis.

About half the population of any *kibbutz* is of working age : the other half consists of children and the over-aged. Of the working population, half again are engaged on production and the other half on services (kitchen, laundry, schools, etc.) Each *kibbutz* tries to put as many of its members as

possible into the front line of productive enterprise. All kinds of jobs, especially administrative jobs or committee work, are done in the spare time of working members. Nevertheless, each *kibbutz* producer supports three *kibbutz* non-producers. Each *kibbutz* on the whole produces enough surplus food for an equal number of town dwellers, which means that each *kibbutz* producer supplies food for seven others. Even so, this is only half of what each American farm worker produces—enough for sixteen other people: due, of course, to a much greater use of power-driven machinery in the United States.

The *kibbutz*, like most Jewish farming in Isreal—apart from citrus growing—is based on mixed farming. The major source of income is usually the dairy, the cows being fed on fodder produced under irrigation, in the absence of adequate natural grazing throughout the year. Hence, most Jewish villages (and *kibbutzim*) are to be found on the plains where irrigation is possible, and not in the hills. Other branches are irrigated vegetables and orchards, poultry farming, and carp breeding in ponds. As a result of much scientific research and an advisory agricultural extension service, yields are high. Small factories, sometimes using local raw materials (fruit canning or brick making) have been set up in some *kibbutzim* which suffered in the past from land shortage. But the monotony of machine-winding does not make factory work popular with *kibbutz* members.

Most *kibbutz* products are sold through wholesale co-operatives: and most of the supplementary goods needed by the *kibbutz* (salt, tea, cloth, etc.) are bought through co-operatives. Much of the payment can thus be made through book credits and debits. Nevertheless, the *kibbutz* treasurer must keep a small cash reserve, for external use only.

Each *kibbutz* is governed by the General Meeting of all adult members, held usually on Friday evenings. Much of the actual administration is in the hands of elected standing committees: there are very few whole-time posts. Apart from the secretary-treasurer, there is the work allocator and, usually, the co-ordinator. These posts are filled by election once a year. The work is arduous; most members with experience much prefer to work in the fields instead, in their own speciality and have to be argued into accepting re-election.

They get no pay, of course, for these duties, and live like all other members.

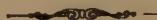
Each branch of farming (the dairy, the poultry farm, etc.) as well as each service (the kitchen, the children's houses, etc.) has its own establishment of staff. The head of each branch and service is usually a permanent and experienced old-timer. He or she (the vegetable garden, poultry farm, kitchen and laundry are run by women) is assisted by a semi-permanent group who shift round between the branches every six months or so. Seasonal and daily fluctuations in the labour needs of each branch are met from a pool, usually of the younger members and new comers. The daily roster of work is made up each night by the work allocator, after consulting the head of branches, so that all members will know what work they will do the next day.

In order to see that the decisions of the General Meeting are carried out in full, most *kibbutzim* now have a whole-time co-ordinator. There is also one man in each *kibbutz* who deals with its external relations, including visitors. But this is not always a whole-time job.

The budget of the *kibbutz* is based on the needs calculated by each branch and service, based on past experience and approved by the relevant standing committee. The budget is not calculated in money but in work-days. The daily cost of maintaining a worker is also known ; so that, if a particular branch requires a thousand work-days through the year and the rural market value of its output is less than the cost of a thousand work-days, then it is clear that that branch is running at a loss. Some branches—such as wheat growing—are run deliberately at a loss—in order to allow each *kibbutz* to make its own bread rather than import cheap Australian flour.

As far as the production of good human beings is concerned, the *kibbutz* has proved to be an unqualified success. The typical *kibbutz* member is energetic, loyal, modest, well-disciplined and absolutely honest. Whenever particularly responsible and arduous job has to be done, either in Israel or abroad, the immediate reaction is to see if anyone suitable can be found in the *kibbutzim*. Most of the older *kibbutzim* have several of their more experienced men away on public duties—even as Cabinet Ministers. But the *kibbutzim* are very loth to let their best men go : they are in the farming

business, and always short of labour. Nowadays, the Israel Army has developed into a second source of "good chaps". Lucky is the country with even one source of able leaders and organizers : Israel, with two such sources, is indeed blessed.



"Democracy and efficiency can be made to work in harmony without weakening either. It is not an easy blend to make and there are many chances of failure. But if we allow our democratic mechanisms to fall into a state of disrepair, then people are likely to become impatient and apt to welcome a minority rule which they hope will improve the situation. Sincere believers in democracy may well come to confuse laxity and loose organization with a democratic environment. On the other hand, efficiency for efficiency's sake is a dangerous doctrine and may unwittingly lead a country toward minority rule and an unbearable regimentation."

—MARSHALL E. DIMOCK

(in *'Administrative Efficiency within a Democratic Policy'*)



"One of the greatest barriers to clear understanding of objectives and methods by both officials and employees, and the citizen public, is the growing tendency of administrative officials to clothe their thoughts and directives in a specialized language.... Is it an attempt to make administration sound mysterious, difficult, and complicated ? Does it spring from the prevailing reverence attached to something termed "technical" ? Do officials think they will dignify their status, perhaps securing higher civil service classifications, if they place an impenetrable veil of words over their work ?...."

"Administration must stand on its own feet—and its feet, in fact its heart, brain, and blood, must be the aiding of understanding of ideas by employees within an agency and by the general public?.... One infallible precept toward accomplishing this end is the simplification, rather than the compounding, of the written and spoken word which is the main vehicle of administrative action."

—DONALD C. STONE

(in *'Washington-Field Relationships in the Federal Service'*)

Accountability of Administration

N. V. Gadgil

AMONG the problems which are specific to a study of Public Administration the accountability of the Executive is not the least important. Administration does not operate in a vacuum. It acts as an agent for the fulfilment of public policy, or public will, formulated during elections and formally endorsed in Parliament—the highest legislative body in the country. It is necessary, therefore, that the public should be made aware of how this great agent or instrument of policy works in actual practice.

The administrator is accountable for his actions, and what is more important and what distinguishes his case from any other is that he is accountable, not to his conscience but to the public. This is a special feature of modern Government, and particularly of a Government in a democratic State. In Plato's Republic the administrators were visualized to be perfect gentlemen and were expected to be well-behaved, "gentle to their fellows and fierce to their enemy". Modern experience, however, is that the administrator, from whatever class and in whatever manner recruited, is subject to all the failings to which ordinary men are subject; and for that very reason the need to ensure his accountability has assumed greater importance. Theodore Roosevelt said: "If you give a man power to do right, you also give him the power to do wrong." That being so, institutions and conventions are being constantly framed to prevent wrong being done, or to redress it if done.

The problem of accountability in the modern State is becoming more and more complex, as the field of governmental activities widens and deepens. On account of the size of the modern State and the multiplicity of the functions it is expected to discharge, administration by amateurs is now virtually impossible. The modern State, in its process of functioning, divorces men who take the day-to-day decision, from the masses. Because of its complexity modern government can only be run by skilled people (or in other words, *professionals*), and modern administration has,

therefore, become essentially an administration in which the professional administrator has a dominating hand. Even in America where the "spoils system" was widely prevalent it had to give way, more and more, to a system where a class of professional administrators has been reared up. Jackson's "rotation of office" is no longer valid except in a very small sphere of administration. In Soviet Russia, too, where once it was believed that any ordinary citizen was quite capable of becoming a Civil Servant, a bureaucracy has grown up; and bureaucracy means *expertise*, compliance with traditional methods and standardization. Representative Government and bureaucracy are thus the two institutions which have coped with the challenges which the modern State with its size and complexity has thrown up.

II

In representative democracy, the duties of the Civil Servants are derived from a formal expression of public will, namely, law. The Civil Servant is expected to do everything according to law, and with reference to law or any order that is promulgated under the law. Accountability is, therefore, specifically towards those who formulate the public will or law, or those who interpret the law, that is, the Parliament or the judiciary.

By insisting on a strict legality, you may keep the Civil Servant up to the mark, but also down to the mark. The position of a Civil Servant in this background is very peculiar. His slackness is punishable no less than his zeal. Legality and initiative do not normally go together. During the last fifty years, wherever democracy has functioned, it has been found that the Civil Servant has always been accused either of lack of zeal, initiative and imagination on the one hand, or has been labelled as arbitrary, illegal, interfering, on the other. Yet, the Civil Servant has shown zeal and initiative in a measure which one could not consider to be meagre or inconsequential.

When one says that the Civil Servant is responsible to Parliament, it really means, where parliamentary democracy functions, that the Minister, or for the matter of fact the Cabinet as a whole is responsible to Parliament. In the Central Government in India, there are forty Ministers of different status and powers and over two million officials at all grades. Theoretically the Cabinet is responsible for

whatever is done by any one of these two million officials in their official capacity, however lowly-placed he may be, but Parliament shows great discrimination and normally acts with a sense of reality. Since the Minister has to face the fire in the House, and since he is briefed by the officials of his Ministry, it is natural for the administration to play safe at all costs. The result is prolonged consultation and diffusion of responsibility. There is an insistence on everything being put in writing. Precedents play a large part in arriving at any decision. Routine, red-tape and long noting take the place of initiative, ingenuity and innovation. The stricter the accountability, the tighter becomes the routine. It is often said that public accountability of the Civil Servant tempers administrative efficiency, either by subjecting it to a detailed parliamentary supervision, or to legalistic interpretation in courts. As governmental activities widen and new services are undertaken by the State, a measure of spontaneity and initiative is required of the administrators. These qualities are discouraged by a rigid control or a too strict accountability.

Such a state of affairs is bad enough for ordinary administration; it would be disastrous for the efficient running of Government's commercial and industrial enterprises. As a partial solution, the form of independent boards or autonomous corporations has been evolved. The Industrial Finance Corporation, Damodar Valley Corporation and Sindri Fertilizers Factory are instances in point. The creation of independent boards or corporations, or registered joint stock companies, etc., to run public enterprises has, however, created certain new problems, although it has solved the problem of operational flexibility. So far as the day-to-day administration of these bodies is concerned, the accountability to Parliament is less than in the case of the administrative departments. The Minister is responsible only for policy matters with respect to these bodies; but, the fact remains, as has been proved on several occasions, that he has to answer for any major mistake in the management or any substantial failure in the implementation of any of these projects or schemes. To some extent the Parliamentary control, and therefore the accountability, has thus diminished but it does not mean that the administration, which is thus separated from the normal central administration, is irresponsible and not accountable to the public. In England,

in order to make such bodies more responsive to the public opinion in matters in which Parliament is not taking detailed interest, advisory councils of consumers have also been set up.

III

Parliament's control of administration is, for the most part, a general control of policy; and rarely does Parliament go into details of any question, unless the irregularity is gross, or failure is monumental. In a parliamentary democracy, the majority party forms the Government, and it is very rare for a majority party Government to be defeated in Parliament itself: though it may be defeated at the next general election. It is natural, therefore, that the degree of the control over administration which Parliament will exercise would vary with the political ideology and programme of the party that has secured the majority of seats during the general election. Government is sustained by the support of the party which has put it into power. If at any time, awkward situations arise, they may create a storm for the time being; but the instinct of self-preservation proves more powerful, and whatever be the faults of the Government, the party supports it none the less. Very seldom does an issue assume such great importance as to justify an appeal to the country by ordering a fresh election. Yet, it may be said that there is always the possibility of any petty case of personal maladministration carrying in it enormous potential danger. That being so, the control by Parliament is also influenced by the extent to which public opinion outside becomes hostile to the Cabinet's policy or administration; and its effectiveness depends upon the measure of anxiety entertained by the party in power about next general election. Bearing the above limitations in mind, one can say that the nature of parliamentary control ranges from broad departmental policy to minute particular items. The Opposition whose parliamentary role is to oppose, never fails to challenge any item as it arises or is dug up by its persistency, very often by its perversity, but on all occasions by its patience—qualities which any political party must display not merely for its success but even for its sustenance. Some questions, therefore, are asked again and again, some points are repeatedly raised and though the House does not always know the truth, it "invariably knows the liar".

IV

The forms of control in various democratic legislatures differ according to historical context and traditions, but it may be said that whatever be the nature of forms the spirit behind them is more or less the same : it is universal. The modern trend is to delegate more and more power to the Executive. In fact, the modern Parliament is in a way a body which lays down general principles and leaves the rest of the job to the Executive of the day. This is not necessarily a "New despotism", but this development is inevitable because of the complex nature of the modern Government and because the field of governmental activities is constantly expanding.

The forms of control are necessarily related to the amount of time that is available to Parliament. In India, Parliament now sits nearly seven months in a year apart from the meetings of Select Committees which are very often held during the inter-session periods. The new budget procedure gives ample opportunity for Parliament to exercise financial control and a tradition has grown up in this country to allow more time to the Opposition than is justified by its numerical strength. It would be interesting to note that in the present *Lok Sabha* (House of the People) the Opposition constitutes about 25 per cent of the membership, but receives about 40% of the parliamentary time. The Opposition does not merely make the best use of the time reserved for private members : it often uses the Government's time for its own purposes.

The occasions for exercising parliamentary control and for criticising the administration are many and varied. First, every new session of Parliament opens with a speech from the President. The President's address embodies major policies of the Government, and four days are normally allowed for discussion on it. This debate on the President's address provides full opportunity for the Opposition to criticise the Government policies mentioned or implied in the address and opportunity is also taken to criticise the entire field of administration generally. Again, the general discussion on the Budget, voting on grants and the annual Finance Bill provide immense opportunity for general as well as detailed criticism of the administration. Financial control is exercised through the discussions on budget estimates, financial proposals of the year, and the report of the

Comptroller and Auditor-General. The latter audits all Government accounts to ensure that the money appropriated has been properly spent. His independence from the Executive has been expressly safeguarded by the Constitution. The Public Accounts Committee scrutinizing the Audit Report, exercises an amount of detailed control which cannot be lightly brushed aside. It is true that it is a sort of *ex post facto* control, but the way in which the Public Accounts Committee has functioned in this country during the last three years justifies the statement that the control is none the less effective. Over and above this, since the present Constitution came into operation, the Estimates Committee has started functioning. It is a standing committee of Parliament and has a definite procedure. It selects periodically a particular department, goes into its working in details and makes its report to the House. The experience of the Committee also justifies the belief that the control it exercises is very substantial. Indeed, those who have been subjected to this control have sometimes considered it excessive.

Another form of control is the system of interpellations—oral questions for which the first hour of every parliamentary day is reserved. On an average some 30 questions are orally asked and answered every day. The many supplementary questions asked are always in the nature of a cross-examination, and it is often an ordeal for the Minister to answer them. It is not always that questions are asked with a view to seeking information, which should be their primary object; they are often used to hold the Government to ridicule. Though, on occasions, the questions are obviously trivial, a useful purpose is served by all questions, trivial or important, because they bring to the public attention different phases of administrative policy or activity and keep the administration up to the standard.

The effect of questions on Government departments is tremendous. "Anybody who has worked in a Civil Service Department", said Hugh Gaitskell, "would agree with me that, if there is one major thing which leads Civil Servants to be excessively cautious, timid and careful and to keep records which outside the Civil Service would be regarded as unnecessary, it is the fear of the parliamentary questions." No officer is more concerned with any other form of parliamentary control than the question and nothing makes him more anxious than what his Minister would do while

replying to supplementaries. The instrument of questioning is flexible, quick, and strong enough to discredit the Ministry and the Minister, though sometimes it may go further and finish off the Minister concerned. If the member who has put the question is not satisfied with the reply, he can now ask for a special half-hour to be allotted for discussing the matter.

Apart from the forms of control described above, the old and time-honoured right to raise a discussion on any specific question of urgent nature and of public importance by moving an adjournment, is still there. During the three years and a half of the present Parliament's life, no such discussion has taken place. The Speaker has naturally to be strict in deciding whether the subject-matter is indeed so urgent and of such importance as to justify a motion for adjournment; but he very often allows the member concerned to table a "short-notice" question to enable him to elicit the facts directly or through supplementary questions.

A related provision is that a matter of urgent public importance can be raised in a two hours' debate which, however, is essentially different from the debate on an adjournment motion. In the former there is a discussion and no voting; in the latter there is a discussion followed by a voting.

A censure motion, or a "no confidence motion", is still another form of control which is provided for by the Constitution itself. It has not, however, been resorted to during the life time of the present Parliament. The vote of censure, if properly submitted, cannot be declined, and the Speaker will have to put it down for discussion.

In brief, by question and debate, administration is kept under constant and continuous review. The most trivial detail may be fraught with enormous consequence as the Opposition utilizes its whole time in spotting the Executive's weak points, and once it catches them, it has boundless opportunities to hammer them constantly. The Opposition's strategy is not so much to sway votes in the division lobbies because that is well-nigh impossible, but to educate and convert public opinion in its favour for winning the next general election. In the House, the floor is used as a forum not for the immediate hearers but for the vast audience outside the House.

VI

It has been mentioned that owing to the size and complexity of the modern State, the legislature can legislate only in a general way, and it has to delegate considerable sub-legislative powers to the Executive of the day. In order to keep control of Parliament over matters delegated to the Executive and to make it accountable to Parliament, a Committee is usually appointed to scrutinize such delegated legislation. The task of this Committee is to go through the rules and regulations that may have been framed by the Executive in pursuance of the parent Act and to report to Parliament from time to time as to how the Executive has used its powers. Just as the Estimates Committee makes certain recommendations which not only act as checks but also provide guidance to Parliament, so do the reports of the Committee on delegated legislation. At the same time it must be stated that any interference by any Committee in the day-to-day administration is undesirable. Such interference, whether by the Estimates Committee or by any other Committee, may mean that the administration will avoid taking any risk and may develop even a sense of helplessness. There will be a loss of initiative and sense of direction. The Executive must be allowed to function with adequate confidence. It must take calculated risks and must be responsible for current administration and should not be in a position to plead excuses because of the constant interference and directions from some Committee.

In India, the problem of delegated legislation has not assumed the same size and importance as in the United Kingdom, where it is being argued that the existing provisions for supervising delegated legislation are insufficient. There is no uniform practice with India in regard to provision in the parent Acts to bring rules and regulations before Parliament. In certain cases rules and regulations are laid on the table of the House for information only. In certain other cases, rules and regulations are laid on the table of the House for periods varying from 14 days to two months, and they become effective as soon as that period is over. During that period it is open to the House to amend, alter or reject them. There is a third procedure in certain other countries : the rules and regulations are laid on the table of the House and become operative only when a resolution to that effect has been passed by Parliament or the House concerned.

It is obvious that there cannot be a uniform procedure in all matters. If the matters are very urgent, the rules must be effective immediately on their promulgation. If the matter can admit of delay, then it may be good to make them operative after the statutory period is over with amendments, if any. The third procedure, that of having a positive resolution passed has not much to recommend itself because in that case there will be endless discussion and the very object of saving the time of the House over details is defeated.

VII

In the application of the rules and regulations to specific cases, the Executive often assumes a quasi-judicial role. How far rules of judicial procedure and interpretation should be applicable in these matters is a knotty problem. The Executive obviously wants things to be done quickly and is not very much enamoured of the niceties of law. This has led many critics to oppose all delegated legislation and to insist that Parliament should have full control even in matters of detail. The language of the rules and regulations is said to be never lucid—often its opacity is evident; and the lawyers do not like the exclusion of the courts in the matter of applying rules and regulations and their interpretation.

The Civil Service—to repeat—is an instrument to carry out the public will expressed by Parliament in the form of law. The actions of the Civil Servants are, therefore, scrutinized in Parliament by the various means detailed above. Since Parliament makes the law, it certainly holds the authority to enquire whether what is done by the administration is according to that law. At the same time it is often a difficult proposition to know what the law exactly means and it is an axiom in political science that it is the business of the courts to interpret the law. In this view, the administration is also accountable to courts.

To begin with, the courts which have the power to pronounce upon the constitutional *validity* of the parent Act itself, also have the power to pronounce upon the *validity* of any rule or regulation made under that Act. A citizen who feels that any provision made by the Executive is in excess of its rule-making power or infringes his fundamental rights beyond the limits permitted under the Constitution, can seek and receive redress from the courts. The citizen

who feels aggrieved can also go to a court, to plead that the obligations laid on the Civil Servant by the law have not been carried out, and seek relief, though in such a case the courts will, ordinarily, decline to interfere because what the Civil Servant has done is evidently an executive act in regard to which a wide discretion is allowed to the administrator. There may be an action of a different kind where the plaintiff may plead that the administrator has acted *ultra vires* or without authority. In such cases the courts will interfere if what is purported to have been done by the administrator is outside the scope of his authority.

There are also many laws in which power is given to the various executive officers, which is not merely executive but also quasi-judicial. In these cases, the court will interfere only if it is satisfied that the rules of procedure, as they may be, have not been followed. A purely executive act might in certain circumstances be *ultra vires* because of its scope, or it may be *ultra vires* because of its form. But the courts will not normally interfere in matters which are purely executive and may interfere in matters which are of quasi-judicial nature, only if correct procedure is not followed. In short, whether the action of the administration is *desirable* or not, is not open for judicial review; but whether the administrator was *competent* to take that action and whether in doing so he *followed the prescribed procedures*, are certainly matters in which the court can interfere.

Boards and Tribunals are often created under the statutory rules and regulations for the purpose of deciding certain intricate questions that may arise during the administration of purposes and schemes to which the statute relates. It is expected that these Boards or Tribunals would decide fairly and impartially. Certain standard procedure is expected to be complied with. A party must be given a fair chance to be heard in its defence. It is also reasonable to expect that the power of the Board or Tribunal will not be improperly used. It does not, however, mean that the Boards or Tribunals should follow the same procedure as is followed in the law courts, but it is expected that their decisions must be given with a due sense of responsibility and consistently with canons of natural justice. When such Tribunals exercise their discretion, courts will not interfere and will not substitute their judgment for the judgment of the Boards and Tribunals concerned. To sum up, the courts will review all cases for

which specific provision is made in the statute itself. Apart from this, courts will interfere only when there is exercise of power which is evidently *ultra vires*. Where the actions complained were inconsistent with the purpose and where discretion is used in a manner which is abhorrent to their sense of natural justice, the courts will and do interfere.

VIII

The above is a brief account of how the administration in India is made accountable. It describes the main forms of parliamentary and judicial control over administration, as also the influence of other factors such as the political ideology of the party in power and the pattern of party structure. In the last analysis, the ultimate sanction for the accountability of administration to the people lies in the democratic *mores* and traditions of a country—matters which lie outside the scope of the study of public administration proper.

Our recent experience with the implementation of welfare and development projects proves beyond doubt that the accountability of the administration to the Parliament and the people is real and solid. There is growing realisation on the part of administration that it must function as a servant of the people. There is also a move on the part of administrative departments to institute O & M surveys in order both to improve the efficiency of their working and to show greater regard for the interests and convenience of their masters and clients—the people. Parliament, too, has shown an increasing consciousness of the administrative implications of speeding up the development of the country. It has willingly delegated more and more authority to the Executive, devoting its attention at the same time to devising new ways and methods for reconciling the increasing devolution of authority with the need for greater accountability.



“Government is man’s unending adventure. It is his heaviest collective and individual burden. Yet it is his supreme hope of liberation from individual feebleness.”

—HERMAN FINER
(in ‘The Theory and Practice of Modern Government’)

Principles of Selection in Public Services

R. C. Dutt

AT the transfer of power in India we inherited an administrative structure, well conceived and organised, but considerably depleted in personnel, and essentially trained for restricted objectives. A twofold problem, therefore, presented itself. The first problem was to fill in the gaps partly by promotion from within, and partly by fresh recruitment. The second was to attune the Services to the new tasks allotted to them, and to re-orientate their attitude to fit in with the new objectives. The first was mainly a problem of selection, while the second that of training. The former, however, had to take due note of the latter. Selection is not an abstract process. It has significance only when it is related to certain qualities which it seeks to find. The object of selection is not to find persons who are efficient in an absolute sense but to select men and women who, in the surroundings in which they have to function and in accordance with the objectives in view, can carry out their assigned tasks most efficiently.

Independence brought in its train administrative problems of a magnitude not encountered before. The problem of law and order which immediately followed the attainment of independence, that of mass migration of displaced persons, the food problem and a score of other problems of adjustment had to be tackled with the available administrative machinery and personnel. Shortage in personnel had to be made good by selections both from the lower grades and from outside. The administration managed to successfully survive the trial and even undertake a measure of welfare and development activities. The First Five Year Plan was launched in 1951. This was a new experience for the administration. It involved not only an expansion of the administrative machinery but its incursion into fields hitherto unexplored. New problems of selection arose. Organisations had to be devised and personnel found for the new tasks.

The First Five Year Plan is now drawing to a close, and a Second Plan, bolder in outlook and more thorough in

comprehension than the First, is gradually emerging. The details of the Second Plan are yet to be worked out, but one thing is obvious. It will require an expansion of personnel on a larger scale than the First Plan. It is equally obvious that on the manner in which this expansion takes place the success or otherwise of the Plan would depend. Selection of personnel will, therefore, play a more important part than ever before. In dealing with this problem of selection for the Second Plan there is, however, one advantage : that of experience. The period of survival from 1947 to 1951 and that of the First Plan 1951-56 have underlined the urgent need for proper selection and also helped us to develop the methods best suited for it. On the basis of this experience, the principles of selection, particularly in the matter of promotion are being evolved. Should promotion in service depend on what is regarded as merit, or, should it depend on the more easily ascertainable factor of seniority? Or, should both these factors be combined in some given proportion to determine promotions from grade to grade? These are the questions that this article seeks to examine.

Promotion in our public services derives its importance from two main sources : (1) Promotion to higher grades determines the type of officers available for posts of responsibility in these grades; and (2) it has a direct effect on the morale of the lower grades, which, in turn, affects their efficiency.

These two factors, though not conflicting, often point in two different directions. The principle of selective promotion can, therefore, be evolved only by balancing all the considerations arising therefrom. From the point of view of the taxpayer, it is essential that only the best are promoted to the highest posts. Any deviation from this involves loss of efficiency, and is, therefore, contrary to public interest. Two basic questions, however, arise : "Who is the best? On what criteria can the best be selected?" To the extent that these questions are not satisfactorily answered, or are not answered in a manner that is generally acknowledged as satisfactory, the second of the two factors mentioned above assumes importance. Nothing is more damaging to the morale of an officer than the feeling that he has been superseded for promotion to a higher post by a person who cannot be regarded as superior to him in merit. An officer superseded even once develops a feeling of frustration; one superseded

repeatedly does so to the extent that his own usefulness to the State is reduced rapidly. This feeling of frustration is intensified by the normal psychological fact that few men are capable of so objective a self-assessment as to admit the superior merit of others. Where the difference is so pronounced as to make its denial absurd, the fact may perhaps be admitted, but the personal ego present in greater or less degree in almost all human beings militates against such admission except in the most extreme cases.

In any scheme of selection on merit, therefore, it is necessary to ensure not only that selections are made as objectively as possible but that the method of selection is such as to be generally regarded as objective and above suspicion. It is not easy to ensure either of these, for the assessment of merit on which selection is based cannot be divorced entirely from the subjective judgment of the person or persons who assess the merit.

Various methods have from time to time been considered and tried to make the process of selection as objective as possible. These may be classified broadly into two groups : The first relates to the materials on which the judgment is to be based, and the second to the selection of the person or persons called upon to form the judgment.

The materials most commonly used to form the basis of selection are :

- (i) the periodic assessment of character and performance recorded in the form of confidential reports;
- (ii) the impressions gathered in a direct interview to test personality; and
- (iii) a written test designed to judge ability to perform the duties allotted.

Each of these methods used to collect evidence of the suitability or otherwise has its limitations; but the evidence so gathered, used discriminately and in combination, can form the basis of reliable judgment.

The periodic recorded assessments of the work done, taken over a fairly long period of time, present as good a picture of the capacity and even personality of a person as any that can be obtained. Such assessments do, as indeed

they must, reflect the varying personalities of the recording officers. A number of them taken together, however, tend to cancel out these variations, and give a picture which is not far from the correct one. But for such a picture to emerge, it is necessary that the assessments should be carefully recorded, and follow a pattern deliberately set to elicit the essential information. This can be ensured by carefully designed forms of confidential reports.

While the resulting picture can be regarded as a sufficient likeness of the person concerned, it is still too rough to permit precise and reliable comparisons between different candidates of about equal merit. For fine shades of distinction the pictures so drawn are not helpful. It is perhaps for this reason that in the United States a system of merit rating by allotment of marks has been evolved. Under this system the desirable qualities are listed and maximum marks assigned to each. Every candidate is then considered for each of these qualities and marked. The final grade of merit is determined on the basis of the total marks obtained. The system, however, aims at scientific precision in a matter of judgment which being essentially subjective is not capable of such precise analysis. The danger of the system lies in the false appearance of precision that it creates. Merit rating in the form of marks conceals the basis of the judgment, and thus prevents comparative evaluation of the assessments made by different authorities with different yardsticks. To this extent it is a less reliable guide for comparative purposes than assessments of merit in narrative form.

The interview as a method of selection has a distinct advantage. It is the only method which enables the selector to assess directly the personality of the candidate. The assessments in the form of periodic reports, if carefully drawn up, can help in this direction but they can at best provide a second-hand picture. The direct impression created by an interview, on the other hand, gives reality to the picture and helps in forming a truer assessment. The interview system, nevertheless, has the disadvantage that appearances can frequently be made to pass for reality. Human personality is a complex phenomenon hardly capable of being analysed in course of an interview, which, however elaborate, must necessarily be brief. A dominating trait, though superficial, may easily be mistaken for an essential quality. It needs experienced and trained interviewers to isolate the substance

from the appearance; but provided such interviewers are available, interview can be a very useful supplement to other methods of selection. It is unnecessary here to go into the various elaborations of the system of interview which have been devised in an attempt to make it an infallible method of selection. Psychiatric tests and the "house party" system are some of these devices. They cannot, however, be used in the day-to-day administration for selection of service personnel. Nor are they really necessary, so long as interview is regarded not as the sole but only one of the methods of selection.

Finally, there is the method of selection by written tests. Such tests do have their usefulness, but only in restricted spheres. Where the duties of an officer are comparatively well-defined and capable of simple tests, written examinations can certainly help in the selection. Such examinations can test (a) the ability to perform certain given tasks e.g. precis-writing, noting, etc.; (b) knowledge of facts and rules; and (c) mental alertness and originality in thought. The last does indeed form the basic requirement for all responsible positions, but no system of examination yet devised can conclusively indicate anything more than the quality of the basic human material available. The basic material has to be trained and moulded for higher responsibilities. The result of such a process of moulding is not entirely predictable, and no system of examination can vouch for the finished product. Nevertheless, within its limitation, written examinations do constitute a useful method of selection.

The problem of "selecting the selectors" is also an important one. Certain principles in this respect can be said to have received general acceptance. The first is that group judgment is preferable to individual judgment. The truth of this principle is obvious. The second is that the group of selectors should as far as possible include persons independent of and detached from the organisation or office for which the selection is being made so that an objective view of comparative merit of the candidates can be taken. The group should also include persons familiar with the nature of work expected of the candidates selected so that the assessment of merit can be made on the basis of job requirements. Last of all, it need hardly be mentioned that persons who, on grounds of relationship, friendship or for other reasons, are likely to develop bias for or even against particular candidates,

should take no part in their selection. In fact, it is not only necessary that selection should be objective but also that it should be demonstrably so. The possibility of bias, even if there is none in reality, should be regarded as sufficient to exclude a "selector" from the process of selection.

With all possible precautions to ensure objectivity, assessment of merit remains essentially a matter of subjective judgment, not capable of being fully determined by objective yardsticks. Relative assessments of the same group of persons made by two different authorities both functioning under similar conditions and adopting the same methods are likely to differ. They are also likely to differ even when made by the same selector but at two different points of time. It would be imprudent therefore to rely solely on what is regarded as merit in the matter of selection.

That does not mean that selection on merit should be abandoned, and promotions made on the rigid formula of seniority or length of service. Length of service as representing experience determines to some extent the usefulness of a person to the State. It is one of the factors which determines merit itself. It also happens to be a factor assessable objectively and intelligible to everybody. Promotion by seniority is, therefore, a "safe" method which is likely to cause the least resentment. It, however, provides no incentive for work of merit, nor does it ensure that posts requiring initiative and imagination of a high order are in fact held by persons having these qualities. A rigid adherence to a seniority formula would, therefore, deprive the taxpayer of the quality of service to which he is entitled, and in the last analysis prove to be expensive. A progressive State committed to a dynamic development administration can ill afford to do without the services of the best available persons. It cannot remain content with mediocrities in pursuance of a "safe" system of promotion by seniority.

A judicious combination of seniority and merit with emphasis on the latter is, therefore, what is required. In all organisations, employees can be divided broadly into three groups : (a) a small group of really outstanding persons; (b) a sizable group of persons well below the average; and (c) a comparatively large group of persons who are neither outstanding nor unfit, consisting of men and women of various shades of ability. There is no difficulty in any reasonably

sound system of merit selection about locating persons in groups (a) and (b). Outstanding persons are readily recognised as such and their advancement out of turn should cause no general resentment. Persons well below average are also easily recognisable and no arguments need arise if such persons are superseded. Difficulty arises mostly about the intermediate category, *i.e.* group (c) which comprises the largest number of employees. It is in assessing their relative merit that all the ingenuity in the process of selection is required.

The combination of merit and seniority in the matter of selection for promotion can best be expressed in the formula that such promotion should be made on the basis "merit with due regard to seniority". A practical application of this formula, which has in fact been adopted in certain cases, would be as follows :

The first requisite is to define the field of choice from which the selection is to be made. This may be done by determining the number to be considered as a multiple of the number to be selected. If, for instance, ten persons are to be selected for promotion, the selecting authority may decide to consider thirty. The exact multiple to be taken is, of course, a matter to be decided in each case. The larger the multiple, however, the greater is the emphasis on merit and less on seniority. Alternatively, the field for selection may be decided by prescribing a minimum seniority standard. An example of this is provided in the Indian Administrative Service (Promotion) Regulations which restrict consideration of State Civil Service officers, for promotion to the I.A.S., to those who have at least eight years' service in the former.

Having decided the field of choice and thus limited the possible range of supersession, the next step is to make the actual selection on merit by one or other of the processes referred to earlier, or by a combination of one or more of them. Such a process of selection would naturally eliminate those in the field of choice who do not "make the grade" for which the selection is being made.

Finally, the persons who do "make the grade" have to be arranged so as to give the order in which appointments to the higher grade can be made as vacancies arise. Here again, it is necessary to blend merit with seniority. A procedure frequently adopted is to arrange the names of those

selected in the order of their seniority. Less senior persons of outstanding merit are, however, placed above their seniors as a deliberate act of selection and recognition of superior merit. Another variation of this method is to group the persons selected into broad categories of merit with suitable distinguishing titles, *e.g.* "Outstanding", "Very Good", "Good", "Fair", etc. All persons in one group are placed above all others in the next lower group; but within each group, seniority prevails.

The principles discussed and the procedure described above represent the present trend of thought and practice in the Government of India. They form, for instance, the basis of the Promotion Regulations both for the Indian Administrative Service and the Indian Police Service. The procedure has also been adopted for promotions from grade to grade in the Central Secretariat Service, and a proposal is under consideration for formally adopting the principles of selection mentioned for all appointments to "Selection posts". Further experience may lead to refinement of the procedure adopted, or even to a redefinition of the principles in some of their details; but it can well be claimed that in their general application the procedure outlined is perhaps as sound as could possibly be devised from the point of view both of efficiency of the Services and the morale of the personnel.

"By and large, those who do not normally and consistently feel a great interest in government will not be good prospects. In general, the more they have succeeded in non-governmental fields, the more they have developed interests and habits of thought that will unfit them for government. Obviously the more delicate and difficult distinctions have to do with upper-bracket positions. There, surely, patriotism, zeal, and intelligence could never be enough—any more than they could be accepted as adequate criteria in selecting candidates for the bench from the ranks of the bar, or in selecting army generals from non-military ranks."

—PAUL APPLEBY
(in 'Big Democracy')

Democratisation in Administration

R. K. Patil

IT is a generally accepted proposition that the transition from a law and order administration, as it substantially was in the pre-war period in India, to a welfare administration as it is progressively bound to be in the post-independence period, must be accompanied by a democratisation of the administrative machinery. I propose to analyse the implications of such democratisation with reference to the impact of the administrative machinery, particularly at the village level.

Democratisation can have two aspects: First, official action at the village level can be taken with the full knowledge, though not necessarily the concurrence, of the village people. The *Patwari* (village accountant) can write his village documents and exhibit them to the people either in the *Panchayat* (village council) or village *Chaodi* (police post) or any other public place in the village. He may also indicate to the village people, specially called for the purpose, all the changes that he has effected from the last year. This will help to remove the present feeling that his papers are a sealed book to the villagers, and he is thus in a position to incite quarrels and rival claims in the village. Similarly, in estimating crops he could take the village people into confidence so that they know the basis of his estimates. That will allay the existing misgivings about his over-estimating the crops, and further help to associate people with the Government's methods of crop estimation. This aspect of democratisation may be termed as "association of the villagers with official action". The intention is to educate people with the why and how of Governmental working. Under this new concept the official will act as before, independently on his own authority, but will take the people into confidence when he acts.

The second stage of democratisation would be when the official is dependent for his action on the prior concurrence of the village authority. In the instances given earlier the *Patwari* would not, at the second stage, be able to finalise

his papers or his estimates of crop yields unless the village council accepts his findings. This would not necessarily bring the *Patwari* under the administrative control of the village body, but would none the less involve some sort of subordination to it.

Any one of the above two reforms may precede the other; even both may be effected simultaneously. It is, however, very necessary that the first step is taken immediately.

If, after seven years of independence the public are not yet feeling the change in administration, it is because by and large we have failed to take this step. I can at least say so for the State of Madhya Pradesh. The result is that complaints of harassment, petty exactions, failure to render service to the people are somewhat common. These can only be removed if the village body monitors the relationship between the average individual villager and the petty official who comes in contact with him. That is, the individual villager should be able to approach the village *Panchayat* or other village body, and lodge his complaint before it. The latter should have powers to call the official complained against, hear him, and send its findings to his immediate superior. These findings, at the present stage, need not be binding on the superior officer who should be free to make such further enquiries as he thinks necessary. But unless authority is conferred on the village body to enquire into individual complaints of villagers, it is difficult to see how else these complaints can be remedied. Experience has shown that departmental enquiries are so cumbrous and infructuous that they deter villagers from making complaints. And, if at all a complaint is made, the danger of the petty official taking revenge on the complainant is very real. All these drawbacks could be removed if a village body would be interposed between the petty official and the individual villager.

This, indeed, would be the logical consequence of the first step, *i.e.* associating the people with the village administration. The objection that is frequently taken to such a course is that it will 'weaken' the administration. It is really difficult to understand this expression of doubt in a democratic framework of Government. In an autocracy or bureaucracy, where things have got to be executed through the 'prestige' of the administration, a 'fear complex' has a

certain part to play in Government's relations with the people. But in a democracy it is absolutely out of place. As another aspect of the alleged 'weakening', a fear is voiced that the petty officials would cease to perform their legitimate functions out of fear of the village body. It is said that if a forest guard has to appear before the village body he would hesitate to report forest offences, and this will lead to a deterioration of forests by encouraging illicit fellings. A *Patwari*, for the same reason, may not report encroachments or defaulters. I consider such an argument as wholly illusory. For, what is it that actuates a forest guard to report forest offences, or a *Patwari* to report encroachments? If it is a sense of duty, it will always work whether a village body is interposed or not. If it is the fear of detection and consequent punishment by the department, that fear can still exist, and is dependent on the degree of 'supervision' exercised by the department. The interposition of a village body should not make any difference. Efficiency of administration depends on the supervision exercised over subordinate officials, and this is not likely to be affected by the reform suggested. It is, therefore, difficult to see how administration could be weakened even in this respect.

Under the new developmental set-up, village bodies are being constituted in every village. In those villages where duly constituted *Panchayats* exist, they could be entrusted with the task of promoting better relations between the villagers and the officials. Village bodies can always be associated with most of the administrative and developmental activities, e.g. preparation of village records, crop estimates, grazing lists; reporting of births and deaths; obtaining of various supplies like credit, seeds, and manures for increasing production; allotment of waste lands; crop competitions; etc. The association of the village *Panchayat* should also be possible in those cases where individual villagers claim relief by applying to officials. While applications for relief may be made to the officials direct, a copy should also be endorsed to the village body so that it can follow it up and thus reduce the chances of invidious contacts between the officials and the villagers. Officials should also utilise these bodies for making spot enquiries and obtaining other information from villagers, which they do today through the agency of individual village officers like *Patels* and *Patwaris*.

Two tendencies which do indicate some 'weakness' and a somewhat unfavourable effect of popular association may be noticed. It is a common complaint that police cases are failing because witnesses can be got at. In the past, it was not so, partly because of the prestige of the police and the convicting tendency of magistrates. Now good cases also fail as witnesses turn hostile. The alleged failure of the system of jurors and assessors is also pointed out as a failure of public association with the administration.

If police cases fail, the failure must be due to (1) fear of giving evidence lest the accused might wreak vengeance later; or (2) a desire not to cause harm to the accused by giving evidence; or (3) deliberate false testimony resulting from the acceptance of illegal gratification or other bad motive. In respect of (1), it is for the police to generate sufficient confidence amongst people who come forward to assist them. If the people tend to keep back for fear of ruffians or *goondas*, the fault lies perhaps more with the police than with the people. Causes (2) and (3) can only be mitigated by better education. But, it might be argued, that police cases were successful in the past without the necessity of better education and to the extent that they fail now there is a distinct 'weakening' of the administration. I think something like this is inevitable in the process of democratisation of the administration. What is required is not merely results, but results occurring from a proper motivation on the part of the villagers. Learning from experience and education alone can be the right basis for correct motivation of the villagers, and unless the fear complex is removed, voluntary efforts for self-development would not be possible—not at least in the measure required.

As regards the system of jurors and assessors, if that system has really failed, it is hardly likely that our institutions of *Nyaya Panchayats** would be a success. On the other hand, it is generally agreed that, though there have been some drawbacks in the working of the *Nyaya Panchayats*, the system has already worked well and the drawbacks are being progressively repaired. It is difficult to understand therefore why the system of jurors and assessors should have failed, and if it has, the fault must be found elsewhere than in the proposition that the system is not suited

* village councils exercising judicial powers

to our conditions. If trials are held in or near the village of occurrence and local people are appointed as assessors or jurors, the whole trial would not only have an educative aspect but will also help to bring to light the irresponsibilities on the part of jurors and assessors. In fact, what holds good for witnesses on the police side also holds good for the shortcomings of jurors and assessors. It is almost impossible for any witness to give false evidence in the presence of his co-villagers.

Finally, there is one more question. Democratisation of administration in a country governed for so many years by the bureaucratic rule, must necessarily be a slow process. The complaint is not about the speed; the complaint is about the complete absence of any steps to bring about the change. Progress is also impeded by the general assumption that any steps that we take in this direction must cover the State as a whole and there is no scope for trial or experimentation of new ideas in small areas of the State. This is fundamentally a wrong assumption. We could safely experiment with the new ideas in a small area, assess their results and then extend their application. The idea of entrusting village bodies with the duty of collecting land revenue has been mooted, and advocated as sound, but its implementation is not being undertaken for fear of our whole revenue system being thrown in jeopardy. Could not we, to begin with, experiment with a few well-developed *Panchayats* and see the result of their working? In a similar way, cannot we try, over a limited field, the proposals for democratisation discussed earlier in this article and watch the results? It would be interesting to know what our administrators, especially those who read this *Journal*, feel about these matters.

"The weaknesses of government by committee are well recognized, and not least by those who sit upon committees. The tendencies to delay, to postpone, to avoid, and to compromise are apparent in almost all the types of committees we have studied. Responsibility is difficult to discern in a many-headed institution; too easily a committee becomes a screen or a shield. And, like the rabbits, to which Mr. Churchill compared them in 1940, they tend to multiply rapidly. Yet government cannot be carried on without them, and in the British system of representative, parliamentary, and consultative government they are essential. The question is not how to do without them but how to make the best of them."

—K. C. WHEARE
(in 'Government by Committee')

Government Corporations - Japan

Public Corporations in Japan

Shiro Okabe

BEFORE World War II, apart from the gigantic arsenals and shipyards under the direct management of the Army and the Navy, a number of enterprises, for example, the railways, the postal service, the telegraph and telephone service, the Government Printing Office, etc., were run by the Government. The efficiency of these national undertakings was generally low and the quality of their services poor. This was due, in large measure, to the absence of thoughtful and elaborate planning in initially developing their management pattern and fiscal and accounting system. The inefficiency of the enterprises and their unsatisfactory services found expression in sharp criticisms which people showered on these undertakings. This was why there had been, from time to time, an outcry for conversion of these enterprises into non-governmental undertakings under private management. This was not brought to its realization, however.

After the war, under the Occupation policy, the railway motor and marine transportation projects under the Ministry of Transportation and the salt, camphor and tobacco monopolies operated by the Ministry of Finance were transferred to the management of a public corporation. Later, the Ministry of Telecommunications which ran the telegraph and telephone service was reorganized as a public corporation. Thus, there are now three public corporations in Japan, namely, the Japan National Railways Corporation, the Japan Telegraph and Telephone Corporation and the Japan Monopoly Corporation (for manufacture and sale of tobacco and cigarettes). These public corporations are modelled after the pattern of the government-owned corporation of the United States of America.

It is generally understood that this conversion was motivated, not by any consideration for improvement of the enterprises involved, but rather by a labour policy toward government workers, the prime objective of which was to remove the public corporation employees from the coverage of the National Public Service Law. The conversion, all the

same, resulted in considerable improvement in the efficiency of the enterprises concerned.

It might be pointed out here that these public corporations, at the time of their inception, had not been fully given that consideration which was so necessary to assure their operation in accordance with sound management principles. Moreover, they had been encumbered by a legacy of the limitations and controls that had existed in their former bureaucratic set-up, with the result that the new organization was far from the idealistic pattern worthy of the name of public corporation. Nevertheless, thanks to the indefatigable efforts of all concerned, not a few improvements have been introduced steadily in these organizations since the time of their creation. In particular, a notable contribution was made by the Public Corporation Rationalization Council, created in the Cabinet last year, which, in response to inquiries of the Prime Minister, submitted a number of recommendations for improvement of the public corporations. It is expected that these recommendations will bear fruit in due course. Again, academic and scientific circles in Japan, especially the Association of Public Administration and the Association of Management Engineering, had frequently taken up the public corporation as the subject of their study and had thrashed the problem out from many different angles. Literature on these researches has reached a staggering volume.

The aforementioned three public corporations in Japan carry on public enterprises hitherto monopolized by the Government. No monopolistic enterprise under private management has ever been transferred to the management of a public corporation.

II

The chief characteristics of the Japanese public corporations and their problems are—

(1) Capital of the public corporation is wholly subscribed by the Government. No private or other public organization is allowed to finance the public corporation. On this point each public corporation is greatly handicapped in procuring its working funds. However, the public corporation is authorized to issue debentures with the approval of its controlling Government agency.

(2) The public corporations, with the exception of the Japan Monopoly Corporation, have a Board of Directors. The Board of Directors is a policy-determining body that considers all important matters pertaining to the conduct of the activities of each public corporation. The budget, business and funding programmes, final accounts, and issue of debentures : all are matters subject to decision of the Board.

The Board of Directors is composed of five part-time members and a special member. The latter post is assumed by the president of the Corporation. The five members are appointed by the Cabinet with the consent of the *Diet*. The members do not receive any remuneration.

The Board of Directors is supposed to have extremely important duties in the sense that it determines the policies of the public corporation and acts as a bulwark against the inroads of bureaucratic concepts and practices in the working of the corporation. However, it is apt to be criticized as having no more than a nominal existence. Therefore, strengthening of the Board of Directors is considered a *sine qua non* for the sound development of the public corporation. To achieve this end, it would seem desirable *either* that the Board of Directors be provided with a staff office of its own, independent of the executive departments of the Corporation, *or* that the chairman of the Board of Directors concurrently assumes the post of the president (the head of the executive departments) of the Corporation. It is thought that unless such a step is taken, the present tendency that the Corporation's executive departments are fast becoming the absolute masters of the whole organization can hardly be checked. Indeed, it will become more noticeable as time goes on.

(3) The budgeting system of public corporations, as compared with Government budget, has the peculiarities listed below :

(a) The corporation budget is compiled on an accrual basis.

In order to make clear the state of its business and finance, each public corporation books an increase or decrease of property and its change on an accrual basis. In consequence, an expenditure budget is also prepared on the basis of the accrual of credits and debits.

(b) It has flexibility.

Law provides that a public corporation should be given latitude in compiling its budget in order that it may carry on its enterprise in a manner consistent with sound management principles and may thus be always in a position to cope with any sudden increase of demand, with any change in economic conditions and with any unpredictable situation. While this is a great improvement, the public corporation authorities point out that the range of the latitude currently allowed is painfully limited. They also insist rather that the budgetary restrictions should be abolished so as to limit budgeting to giving some standard amounts or differences between income and expenditure. To what extent flexibility should be allowed in formulation of the corporation budget is really a pressing problem.

(c) A ceiling is set on the total amount of salaries and wages.

According to the provision of law, a pay plan must be established for compensation of the officers and employees of the public corporation. In this connection the law also provides that the pay plan be drawn up in such a way that the disbursements for salaries and wages based thereon in any business year do not exceed the total amount of salaries and wages provided for in the budget which has been passed by the *Diet* for that business year. This total amount of salaries and wages is the amount arrived at by multiplying the total number of public corporation employees by the figures representing a pay scale more or less similar to that of government workers. Such a ceiling on salary and wage payments cannot be said to be a reasonable one. It exerts a demoralizing influence on corporation employees and undermines their will to improve the efficiency of the whole organization. It might be contended, however, that unless there is some such framework, the management would find

itself in an extremely difficult position when carrying on collective bargaining negotiations with its employees on the distribution of the vast incomes which would naturally accrue to the enterprise by reason of its absolutely monopolistic character.

Nevertheless, despite what has been stated above, the current system providing a ceiling on pay expenditures should be neither upheld nor encouraged, but should rather be abolished altogether at an early date. The public corporations in order to promote their efficiency should set up a pay structure so designed as to provide sufficient incentives to their employees and to reward the achievement and efficiency of the individual worker.

(4) Labour rights :

Like government workers, public corporation employees are not given the right to resort to dispute tactics, but they are authorized by law to engage in collective bargaining negotiations with the management and conclude collective agreements for the purpose of improving their conditions of work. The work-forces of the three public corporations are as follows : the Japan National Railways Corporation, 447,000; the Japan Telegraph and Telephone Corporation, 161,000; and the Japan Monopoly Corporation, 42,000. And they all form a strong labour union.

III

In Japan, the major enterprises now carried on directly by the Government are the postal service, minting, printing, forestry and alcohol monopoly undertakings.

The postal service is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Postal Services and has a working force of 252,000. Minting and printing activities, with a labour force of 1,700 and 7,600 respectively, are carried on by the Mint and the Government Printing Office under the Ministry of Finance. The management and control of State-owned forests is vested with the Forestry Agency of the Ministry of Agriculture and

Forestry. This enterprise employs 20,000 workers. The alcohol monopoly is run by the Light Industry Bureau of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry and has 1,500 employees. These enterprises are all operated under a special account which is independent of the State's General Account, and carry on their activities on a self-supporting basis.

A Government enterprise is often considered the synonym for inefficiency in Japan. Therefore, change of its management pattern has been discussed frequently for the purpose of improving the efficiency of such enterprise. Many opinions have been advanced in these discussions. The preponderant view is that public enterprises like those now operated by the Government should be placed under the management of public corporations instead of being transferred to purely private management. It would thus appear that, in the eyes of the general public, the organizational pattern of public corporation has been the only attractive one for the management of public enterprises in Japan. In such circumstances, the crucial test of whether the public corporations could fulfil the popular expectations is their ability to run their respective enterprises strictly in accordance with sound management principles and to develop and promote their efficiency, while upholding the public character of their undertaking and assuring satisfactory services to the whole people. What steps, then, should be taken by the public corporations to achieve these objectives? The answer to this question is still awaited.

Looking at the other side of the picture, it is true that some scathing criticism has been and is being levelled at the public corporations. Briefly, the substance of this criticism is that an organization known as public corporation is the embodiment of the shortcomings and weaknesses of both Government-operated and private enterprises. Such criticism is, perhaps, not founded on fact.

Large-scale national undertakings, including development engineering projects, housing construction and others, are about to adopt the organizational pattern of public corporations one after another at the present time, and in the circumstances the criticism of the sort described above, if well-founded, will deal a fatal blow to the future development of public corporations in Japan.

IV

One of the crises that confront the public corporations of Japan is that, under the existing system, the location of responsibility is not clear. In cases where any public corporation has caused a serious loss or damage to the people in the conduct of its activities, would the political responsibility for such loss or damage extend to the Minister of State who exercises supervisory authority over the public corporation? Would the Board of Directors share the responsibility or would the responsibility rest with the president of the public corporation alone and go no farther? If clear-cut answers could be given to these problems, the position of the public corporations in Japan would be on a more secure footing.

There are certain organizations in Japan which are of a similar character to public corporations and the following institutions are chief among them: the Housing Finance Corporation; the Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries Finance Corporation; the Medium and Small Enterprise Finance Corporation; the People's Finance Corporation; the Japan Development Bank and the Export and Import Bank. While it is obvious that all these organizations are corporations within the meaning of public law, they are treated differently from public corporations in so far as law is concerned. To quote an example, the Public Corporations Labour Relations Law is not applicable to these organizations. However, the students of public administration feel that all these organizations should be considered public corporations. The organizations concerned are known in Japan by the name "government-connected agencies", but the students of public administration tend to include them in public corporations when pursuing studies of these entities and presumably this view is right.

"A sound organizer may be a poor leader or administrator, because his temperamental qualities may not fit him for the latter task. On the other hand, it is inconceivable that a poor organizer can ever make a good leader, if he has any real organizing work to do."

—JAMES D. MOONEY

(in *'The Principles of Organization'*)

Reorganising the Indian Income-tax Department

Indarjit Singh

ONE of the important recommendations of the Taxation Enquiry Commission, 1953-54, was that "a small committee should go into the '*organisation and methods*' of the Income-tax Department, if necessary with the help of experts who have specialised in 'efficiency audit' of large-scale organisations". The Commission recommended that problems of training including training in public relations and of improvement in the collection of statistical material should also be carefully examined. The Government of India have accepted these recommendations and a special unit has been set up in the Central Board of Revenue, Ministry of Finance, to undertake an 'O & M' survey of the Department. This unit is under the direct charge of an officer of the status of Member, Central Board of Revenue, and keeps in close touch with the Director, Organisation and Methods Division, Cabinet Secretariat, for purposes of technical guidance and advice.

The present article gives a brief account of the developments leading to and the objectives of the proposed enquiry into '*organisation and methods*' of the Income-tax Department. It further indicates the plan of action that is being followed.

II

The only previous enquiry into the organisation and personnel of the Indian Income-tax Department was undertaken in 1945-46. It was not based on job-analysis or work studies; the strength of the Department was fixed on the basis of a standard of output empirically estimated. The recommendations of that enquiry had hardly begun to be implemented when partition of the country intervened, followed by Federal financial integration of the former Princely States and the enactment of the Estate Duty Act. All this meant additional work-load on the dwindling reserves of trained manpower.

Staff increases have since taken place from time to time. But these were related to specific items of additional

work rather than to a re-assessment of the over-all needs. The Department continues to be under considerable stress. Arrears of work on assessments, collections and appeals tend to accumulate.

The Taxation Enquiry Commission received a large number of suggestions on administrative matters in response to their Questionnaire; the subject was also a recurring theme in the evidence tendered before them. As a Commission charged with broad terms of reference and from considerations of time at their disposal, they were unable to undertake a close examination of issues of an administrative character raised before them. On such preliminary examination as they could make, it became evident that certain disquieting features existed in the management of the Department which required a detailed investigation.

One such feature was the continued accumulation of arrears over the last few years. The arrears of assessment increased by 58.8% during the year ended 1st April, 1955, and those of appeals before the Appellate Assistant Commissioners by 150% as compared to the position on the 1st April, 1948. The latter formed, on the 1st April, 1955, 125% of the annual average intake of appeals. Translated into commercial terms, this would mean that in the Income-tax Department we have a business concern in which in addition to an average of 9,00,000 bills to be sent out every year, 6,00,000 old bills are awaiting preparation; and of those already issued, 1,00,000, are under adjudication. Against an average annual incoming of Rs. 160 crores (1.6 billion) the outstanding collections of the Department amount to Rs. 200 crores (2 billion) with about 20% of the sum as irrecoverable! It is not, therefore, without justification that the average citizen entertains doubts regarding the business-like conduct of Government Departments.

The present situation in the Department was ascribed by departmental witnesses to shortage of staff, particularly of trained personnel and to the enormous growth of the organisation during World War II and after, for which previous preparation could not have been made. Trained staff cannot obviously be obtained to order; it takes about 4 to 5 years to shape a competent officer out of raw recruits to the Service or even from men promoted from within the ranks of the Department. The Taxation Enquiry Commission, were,

therefore, of the view that a better use should be made of the existing resources of manpower by a careful 'work study'. The Commission further observed that there was "lack of adequate and suitable office accommodation, arrangements for the seating of assessees and equipment and stationery in the income-tax offices", as also absence of sufficient attention to methods of work and organisation. The Commission also recommended that the Central Board of Revenue should impress upon the officers and the staff of the Department the value of good public relations—the general deportment and behaviour of personnel towards assessees, amenities in the form of waiting rooms, etc. and consideration for their convenience in the matter of granting adjournments, and the like. In short, the contents and sequence of work should be re-defined and the method and equipment improved by the application of modern techniques of work study so that trained staff could be deployed, so to say, strategically in order to make for optimum efficiency. 'Work study' would also help to place the problem in a correct perspective both for short and long term arrangements, by treating them as two aspects of a continuing plan of action.

If administration is a systematic ordering of affairs and calculated use of resources, the Income-tax Department, for reasons beyond its control, has not been able to live up to this maxim. It has been dogged by the spectre of huge arrears, amounting at present to nearly a year's back-load. Some deterioration in standards of work has also admittedly taken place. Such conditions are not conducive to the maintenance of good public relations. They are liable to create discontent among assessees, leading sometimes to complaints of harassment. Whether heavy arrears of work are tackled by increasing untrained and inexperienced staff or by *ad hoc* measures designed to secure a larger volume of disposal than what the existing standards warrant, a certain relaxation in the quality of work is inevitable.

The objectives of the present O & M enquiry are, therefore, determined to a large extent by the cumulative effects of the various factors mentioned above. Expressed briefly these objectives are:

- (i) to eliminate conditions that lead to a chronic state of arrears of work;

- (ii) to increase the ability of the Department to prevent loss of revenue; and
- (iii) to enable the Department to function in the best traditions of public service, having due regard to the genuine grievances of the tax-payers.

In brief, it has to be examined whether, given a properly constituted organisation, employing economical and efficient methods, the present manpower is sufficient in numbers and quality, for the work-load to be discharged. In such an examination the first step must necessarily be to ascertain just *what* the work to be done consists of, at each of its many stages. In other words, job-analysis is the crux of the enquiry. "What" needs to be done has first to be clearly defined and understood; the next stage is to see what would be the best organisation, equipment and methods for doing it. This leads to setting up of standards of performance—which in turn, lead to a decision of how many men are needed at each level, and what degree of training or experience is required of them before they can efficiently perform their tasks.

III

It could well be suggested that since the enquiry concerns an established department, it might be simpler to start with the standards of performance laid down in 1946—however rough and ready they might have been—and then to modify them suitably in the light of (a) the past experience with their application, (b) the considered advice of the experienced personnel of the Department, and (c) the future needs of output and quality of work. There are, however, certain fundamental objections to such a use of the existing standards. There is a wide-spread feeling that the present standards do not represent a fair work-load as evidenced by the periodical "disposal drives" launched by the Department to deal with accumulating arrears, which incidentally, lead also to a deterioration in the quality of output. Nor would the personal opinions of the experienced personnel, as to what the standards should be, find ready acceptance unless such standards are demonstrably founded on an objective basis.

While the past experience with the working of the existing standards and the personal observations of departmental

supervisors must obviously be taken into consideration (in fact, the departmental "seminars" mentioned further below have been requested to give their considered views on these matters), "work study" has to be undertaken for the most part, for setting up new standards of performance on scientific and objective lines. "Work study" will also help in standardising procedures and control measures and placing them on an economical and efficient basis.

"Work study" differs from other approaches in that it proceeds to determine the new standards of performance after ensuring that methods of work employed by an organisation make effective and efficient use of manpower; that the structure of the department is conducive to optimum efficiency and is responsive to its objectives; and that conditions exist for improving the quality of work by proper initial training and supervision.

"Work study" also enables mechanical work and non-repetitive work to be demarcated. The former is reduced to the form of set procedures, the meticulous observance of which leads to greater efficiency; while the latter is marked out for analytical study with a view to introducing as much regulation as is practicable in conducting it. In the Income-tax Department, this is of special importance as the regulatory process admittedly should not result in reducing assessment proceedings to the level of mechanical operations. A delicate balancing of various considerations has to be achieved : there is the need for providing full opportunity for vigour and resilience in conducting investigations, as also for ensuring that significant points are not overlooked or unnecessary work is not created in the name of investigations.

"Work study" further calls for special attention to the use of correct and efficient procedures. The importance of procedure is well expressed in the words of Bagehot, used in another connection, "the hyphen that joins, the buckle that binds". The procedure knits the organisation into a whole and enables it to discharge its day-to-day work. It assists in the most efficient division of labour in an organisation. Procedures are in the nature of institutional habits that to a great extent manifest and shape the personality and character of an organisation. They stabilise day-to-day work, contribute to the fulfilment of the immediate responsibilities of an organisation and release energies for devoting

more time to detailed investigation of important problems. One has, however, to safeguard against the manifestation of 'the procedural hardening of administrative arteries' and to balance flexibility of approach with procedural competence.

IV

Having decided, for these reasons, to undertake a full work-study it was necessary to plan its course in advance. It was realised that it would naturally have to fall into fairly well-defined successive stages.

The *first* stage would be to understand thoroughly the existing structure, procedures and methods of work, *i.e.* to know how the Department is at present organised; how its total task of assessments, collections, adjudication, appeals, etc., is divided into "jobs" and "processes"; how many and what grades of personnel are engaged on these jobs; what procedure and equipment they are employing; and what standards of output are expected of them.

The *second* stage would be to examine what features of the existing structure, procedures and equipment need to be eliminated, modified, or re-designed to give more efficient results. The improvements which suggest themselves may not always be obvious or valid. To arrive at reliable conclusions it might be necessary to carry out some pilot experiments to observe how the suggested improvements work out in practice. The conclusions of such examination and experiments would lead to the *third* stage—the formulation of final recommendations and decisions for regrouping of the sub-tasks and procedures, re-designing of the organisation, methods and equipment and the resetting of standards of performance to be expected of the personnel engaged at different points in the reorganised machine. The implications of these decisions will also call for a reassessment of the number and quality of manpower and for improvement in the arrangements for training and public relations.

There can of course be no rigid demarcation between the three stages. Some overlapping is bound to occur and may indeed be desirable.

V

The first of the three stages mentioned above consists essentially of fact-finding. The collection of accurate and

objective data regarding the existing structure and functioning of the Department is, therefore, of vital importance.

Primary factual material is comparatively easy to collect. Difficulties, however, arise in gathering material which shows not merely the trend of over-all functioning of the Department quantitatively but would also throw light on factors that affect quality and output of work.

It is accordingly necessary to collect and process basic data in two phases. The first phase would involve a general reconnaissance of the whole field to be covered by the enquiry, the assembly of *preliminary* data on an *ad hoc* basis and its appraisal in order to prepare a plan for collecting and treating *detailed* data. In the second phase such *detailed* material will be gathered from representative "charges" selected by stratified random sampling so that the conclusions drawn are valid for the whole Department.

The first phase of the collection of preliminary data commenced in May 1955 and is now nearing completion. A plan for the next phase of detailed investigations has been developed on the basis of well-tried techniques used in O & M enquiries elsewhere but by adjusting them to the circumstances of the Income-tax Department. The adjustments needed are fully discussed with committees which are established on an *ad hoc* basis in each "charge".

For securing the benefit of the advice of experienced personnel as well as for mobilising their support, "seminars" have been set up in each "charge" under the leadership of the Commissioner of Income-tax. All categories of staff have been covered. "Talking points" for the "seminars" have been furnished by the Central Board of Revenue, though the "seminar" is at liberty to add to them. The constitution of "seminars" is an attempt to transform staff indoctrination into group consultation. The "seminars" would ensure that the respective roles of each of the participating elements in the organisation are fully appreciated and their experience drawn upon in the joint deliberations. As only a limited number of persons can be included in each "seminar", it is further the intention to institute a "suggestion scheme" to supplement the "seminars". The scheme will tap suggestions from those enthusiastic staff members who have not been able to participate in the "seminars". The

experience gained of present experiment would probably point a way to a permanent scheme of continuous staff collaboration.

In collecting data during the first stage of the enquiry, every effort is being made to evoke the interest and enthusiasm of the officials of the Department. The plan of investigation which has been evolved avoids abstruse and complex processes. The analytical instruments to be used will be simple and commonplace and the investigations will be conducted with the active collaboration of those who handle the actual job. The officer in charge of each unit under investigation would be co-opted as an active member of the O & M survey party for the time his unit is under review. This will enable him to overcome the feeling that his work is being subjected to external inspection and fault-finding. He will also get acquainted with O & M techniques to be applied for possible future use. To simplify the task of fact-finding and to secure uniformity in the manner of presentation of material for later examination, standard forms of job description sheets and process charts have been developed. A few specimens of these are shown in figures 1 to 3 (pp. 232-35).

Furthermore, in order to stimulate enthusiasm and create a general consciousness for improving the existing methods of work, discussion groups have been set up in many "charges". For example, a discussion group of Supervisors in Bombay has been entrusted with investigation relating to registration of papers, systems of filing, and rationalisation of statistical returns. Another discussion group at Ahmedabad is engaged in the task of reorientating the form for return of income, popularly known as forms I.T. 11 and 11-A. Some Commissioners of Income-tax have also undertaken to give personal attention to some important problems: one of them is employed on structural changes that should be made for increasing the output and enhancing the quality of work; another Commissioner is preparing a paper on the manner in which 'work-content' of assessment proceedings conducted by an Income-tax Officer should be evaluated.

The whole enquiry will thus be a joint enterprise of all members of the Department to make improvements, the Central Board of Revenue providing through the Member in charge, unity of command, direction and guidance.

FIGURE 1

PROCESS CHART

**JOB: EX-PARTE ASSESSMENT
UNDER SECTION 23 (4)**

LEGEND

- Means operation - something being created, changed or added
- Means transportation or movement in or out of office
- ▽ Means storage - something remains in place awaiting further action
- Means inspection - something checked or verified but not changed

S.No.	OPERATION	CLASS IV	MINISTERIAL OFFICERS	MINISTERIAL SUPERVISORY OFFICERS	INCOME TAX OFFICER
1.	Discovery of non-compliance with notice under section 23 (2) or 22 (4).				
2.	Direction to check up if any belated request for adjournment has been received.				
3.	Checking up as above and noting on order sheet.				
4.	Putting up of case files on the morning of the next day.				
5.	Dictation of order under section 23 (4).				
6.	Direction regarding issue ^{of} notices under section 28 (3) on order sheet.				
7.	Typing of assessment order.				
8.	Preparation of notice under section 28(3).				
9.	Putting up above two for signature.				
10.	Signature on above.				
11.	Entry regarding above in the Register maintained for section 28 Proceedings.				
12.	Placing office copy of notice under section 28(3) in Miscellaneous record.				
13.	Despatch of notice under section 28(3) along with demand notice etc. through process server's diary.				
14.	Compliance noted in order sheet.				
15.	Service of above.				
16.	Receipt of acknowledgment slip.				
17.	Pasting of acknowledgment slip in the file.				

FIGURE 2

PROCESS CHART

**JOB: RECEIPT OF RETURN OF
INCOME (I.T. 11)**

LEGEND

- Means... operation... something being created changed or added
- Means... transportation or movement in or out of office
- Means... storage... something remains in place awaiting further action
- Means... inspection... something checked or verified but not changed

S. No.	OPERATION	CLASS IV	MINISTERIAL OFFICERS	MINISTERIAL SUPERVISORY OFFICERS	INCOME TAX OFFICER
1.	Scrutiny of General Index Register to see if return has been received.				
2.	Preparation of reminders where returns not received.				
3.	Putting up of above for signature				
4.	Signature on above.				
5.	Despatch of above through process server's diary.				
6.	Receipt of return of income in time.				
7.	Entry in General Index Register regarding receipt of returns.				
8.	Preparation of cover of returns and connected statements (I.T. 125).				
9.	Placing of returns and connected statements in I.T. 125.				
10.	Entry regarding above in order sheet.				
11.	Return wrongly received; covering letter for despatch to I.T.O. concerned.				
12.	Put up before I.T.O. for signature.				
13.	Signature on above.				
14.	Despatch of the same.				
15.	Receipt of acknowledgment.				
16.	Filing of above.				

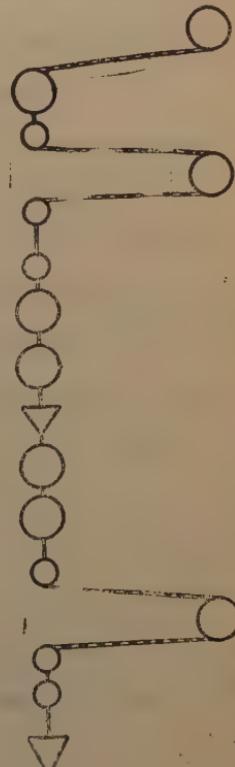


FIGURE 3
JOB DESCRIPTION SHEETS

I
Job: Report to C.I.T. for obtaining permission to call for
statement of total wealth

S. No.	Description of task	Classifi- cation	Grading	Standard Form (Present Number)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1.	Preparation of report to C.I.T.	I.T.O.	..	S.F.
2.	Typing of above and submission for signature.	C _t
3.	Signature of above.	I.T.O.
4.	Placing of office copy of above in the miscellaneous cover.	C	A	..
5.	Despatch of above.	C _d	A	..
6.	Entry regarding above in the Order Sheet.	C	A	..
7.	Receipt of approval.	C _t	A	..
8.	Entry regarding above in the Order Sheet.	C	A	..
9.	Preparation of notice under section 22 (4).	C	A	..
10.	Putting up of above for signature.	C	A	..
11.	Signature of above.	I.T.O.
12.	Placing of office copy of above in the miscellaneous cover.	C	A	..
13.	Despatch of above.	C _d	A	..
14.	Service of above.	IV	..	S.F. (I.T.57)
15.	Receipt of acknowledgment of above.	C _t	A	..
16.	Receipt of total wealth statement.	C _t	A	..
17.	Placing of above in the file.	C	A	..
18.	Submission of above for further consideration.	C	A	..

II
Job: Computation of Income-tax

S. No.	Description of task	Classifi- cation	Grading	Standard Form (Present Number)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1.	Calculation of gross tax. (Separate break-down statement for grossing up of dividends etc.)	C	B	S. F. (I.T.30)
2.	Working of average rate.	C	B	..
3.	Working of rebates.	C	B	..
4.	Computation of net tax.	C	B	..
5.	Deduction of 18-A payment, if any.	C	B	..
6.	Deduction of 23-B payment, if any.	C	B	..
7.	Deduction of other deposits, if any.	C	B	..
8.	Calculation of interest under Section 18-A (5), 18-A (6) or 18-A (8).	C	B	..
9.	Addition or deduction on account of above.	C	B	..
10.	Computation of net tax.	C	B	..
11.	Checking of above.	S	C	..

LEGEND

Column 3 of table above.

I. T. O. — Income-tax Officer

C — Clerical operation — suffixes 'i', 't' and 'd' denote inward receipt, despatch and typing operations respectively, of a clerical nature

S — Supervisory operation

IV — Unskilled operation

Column 4 ibid.

A — Operations of an elementary character

B — Operations requiring training and experience

C — Operations involving supervision and initiative

Column 5 ibid.

S. F. — New standard form to be evolved

S. F. — Existing standard form

(....)

Along with the *fact-finding*, i.e. knowing *what* is being done now and *how*, a good deal of the examination—seeing (a) what is *wrong* with the present state of affairs and *why*, and (b) *what should be done about it*—is also being attended to, not only by the “GHQ” of the enterprise but also by the many of the operating units in the different “charges”. To help those who are not fully familiar with what faults to look for and what the essential elements of an efficient organisation should be, general guidance has been given in a letter addressed by the Chairman of the Central Board of Revenue to all Commissioners of Income-tax. Extracts from this letter together with the suggested headings for the “seminars” are reproduced in the *notes* at the end of this article.

In addition, the officer in charge of the whole enquiry pays frequently personal visits to the different “charges” to spread among all units an understanding and appreciation of the principles of efficient organisation and the need to pay proper attention to the requirement of proper delegation of functions and responsibilities; span of control; co-ordination and communication, both internally and with outsiders; line and staff relationship, control mechanism for ensuring smooth and rapid flow of work; etc. In this manner the enquiry is also assuming the character of an *extensive programme of training for personnel at all grades, in the principles of administration and O & M techniques.*

VII

This is in essence a brief description of the project in hand and not a report of achievements. It states what the objectives are and how it is hoped to attain them; it also gives an account of some of the steps already taken. The writer hopes to report in the future issues of this *Journal* further progress, especially in the more technical fields of time studies and work simplification.

NOTES

- I. *Extracts from a letter from Shri A. K. Roy, Chairman, Central Board of Revenue, to all Commissioners of Income-tax*

“The scope of the enquiry follows.....from the report of the Taxation Enquiry Commission and it has been concurred in by the Organisation and Methods Division of the Cabinet Secretariat.”

“The ultimate aim is to ascertain the labour force, at all levels, required to tackle the total work-load and the stages in which the desired strength can be achieved, suggesting as an *ad interim* measure rearrangement of work that may be necessary to avoid undue accumulation of arrears.”

“Job Analysis” is the essence of the enquiry and this detailed and complex task can only be carried out with the assistance of the field organisations. I suggest that, notwithstanding your other preoccupations, you should take a close interest in this work. In the first place, the results arrived at will affect your day-to-day work intimately. Secondly, it will be realised that such enquiries cannot be undertaken frequently and whatever views you have should be now expressed.”

“Your attitude to the enquiry should be more than what the word ‘co-operation’ signifies, for that is taken for granted by the Board. Your staff and you should not be passive spectators of the enquiry, affording facilities for the work, but should also actively think about the various problems relevant to it and participate in the conduct of the enquiry. Subject to any other suggestions that you may make, it is the intention to achieve these desiderata at this stage in the following ways :—

- (a) A ‘suggestions scheme’ will be launched shortly asking for the views of those that actually handle the job, on various questions that affect efficiency of work. The Board have no doubt that a fund of useful ideas exists in the Department for its improvement which needs an outlet.
- (b) Meanwhile, some thinking may be done in your charge. On informal consultation at Delhi recently, many of the Commissioners agreed that it would be desirable to constitute a ‘seminar’ in each charge for discussing administrative and technical problems connected with the enquiry. The ‘seminar’ may be directed by you personally or one of your senior officers. It should comprise competent personnel from all levels of the Department, including ministerial. Its structure should be adhered to for drawing up the report of the ‘seminar’ so that collation work is facilitated in the Board, otherwise, you are at liberty to include any additional points that you consider necessary.
- (c) As regards the procedure for carrying out the enquiry, it is the intention at present to constitute ‘task forces’—to use a convenient Americanism for investigating teams—under the leadership of an officer of the rank of Deputy Director of Inspection.”

“The officer in charge of the unit under investigation would be co-opted as an active member of the task force. The team will work in the respective jurisdiction to which it is assigned and it will be under instruction to keep in close touch with you. It will conduct the enquiry according to detailed pattern drawn up by the Board.”

“It is obvious that the assignment undertaken by the Board can be successfully implemented only by corporate thinking and concerted effort at all levels of the Department. Our endeavour should be to leave the Department in a better shape at the end of the investigations than we found it. It is not, in any sense, a disparagement of the present work done by the

Department as I am fully aware of the intensity of your effort. Even the best-run department needs a periodical reappraisal owing to changes in functions and the magnitude of work-load apart from the strain through which the Income-tax Department has passed during the last ten years, to mention partition, federal financial integration and estate duty as some of the prominent factors in this connection."

II. *Headings for "Seminars"*

1. Organisational changes including an examination of the present law relating to jurisdiction of Income-tax Officers, and other officers in so far as it affects disposal of work.
2. Assignment of duties at all levels of the Department.
3. A review of delegation of powers all along the line—administrative, technical (assessment, collection and settlement) and investigational.
4. Standards of Performance : Please detail the standards of performance already prevalent for various types of work for all categories of staff—a critique being attempted specially of the standards of output as regards assessment work brought into use in 1946—and particularly assess their utility for (i) control of output, (ii) control of quality of work, (iii) assessment of staff requirements. Should standards of assessment work at all be attempted? If not, how do you propose to measure output for control of work and for assessment of staff?
5. Basis of constitution of Income-tax circles or wards in your charge—suggestions for modification of the basis.
6. Assessment work : Factors that lead to arrears in assessment and remedies for controlling them. Please detail all such causes that arise from within the Department and from without. Concrete suggestions should also be made for improving the quality of work.
7. Suggestions on changes in methods of work designed—
 - (i) to eliminate unnecessary work;
 - (ii) to introduce essential items of work that are now being missed.
8. Suggestions for disposal of present arrears of assessment.
9. Measures for reducing arrears of collection and for improving "collectibility ratio" in future.
10. Filing and recording systems as aids to expeditious disposal of work.
11. Measures for reducing arrears of appeals.
12. Suggestions designed to increase the "punching" power of the Department—e.g. in respect of internal survey; external survey;

the working of the collation branch; inspection work; investigation work at the C.B.R. level and at the Commissioner's level; internal audit and any other item of work relevant to this objective.

13. Factors affecting regular flow of work in the Income-tax Department and measures designed to equalise the work-load as between different months of the year.
14. Factors that strain relations with the public and suggested remedies.
15. Arrangements to keep Income-tax Officers and the staff informed of the techniques pertaining to special types of assessment; supply of intelligence—economic and otherwise—relating to the disposal of assessment work. Please detail the type of information that is considered suitable as an aid to assessment, which should be available to the Income-tax Officer (i) by his own efforts, and (ii) from his superior officers including organisations attached to the C.B.R.
16. Revision of Income-tax forms.
17. Methods of recruitment and training of gazetted and non-gazetted staff.
18. Codification of Income-tax law.

“One of the greatest privileges in life is to work under a boss whom one can admire and respect—a man who is a real leader, who gives his own best effort to his work and exacts the best from those under him. Such a man may be a hard taskmaster, he may be impatient of incompetency, but his subordinates never want to leave him for a boss who will accept sloppy work. It is the greatest inspiration to work under such a boss.”

—**MANAGING THE BOSS**
(in ‘*Harper’s Magazine*’,
December, 1926)

On Bureaucracy

S. V. Kogekar

INTRODUCTION

AN indication of the growing importance of the study of public administration in the larger field of political science was given two years ago by the holding of a Round Table Conference at Paris on this subject. The conference was held under the auspices of the International Political Science Association—a body sponsored by the U.N.E.S.C.O.—and was attended by some forty invitees from thirteen countries.

At the third World Congress of Political Science held at Stockholm from the 20th to the 27th August 1955, a plenary session was devoted to the discussion of the results of the Paris Conference. The Paris Conference was concerned with the subject of comparative public administration with special reference to Bureaucracy. The Stockholm Congress was called upon to concentrate on 'Bureaucracy'.

It was the privilege of the writer of this article to present to the Congress in his capacity as Rapporteur General a report of the Paris discussions in which he had the honour to participate, and to indicate the topics on which further discussion would be fruitful. By an interesting coincidence the session on Bureaucracy was held in the Governor's Castle at Uppsala where the Congress had moved for a day from its usual venue at the Parliament House in Stockholm. The text of the report is given below in the form of a working paper.

THE WORKING PAPER

1. An excellent summary of the Paris Conference on Bureaucracy has been made available in the form of a brochure published by the International Political Science Association. Here I propose briefly to present a bird's-eye view of the Paris discussions and to indicate some of the points on which further comments will prove most useful.

2. As Prof. Taylor Cole has said in his introduction to the I.P.S.A. brochure, the discussions at Paris were

“preliminary and exploratory” in character and served to focus attention on the most salient aspects of the subject without entering into the niceties of the methodology of comparative studies. The one great advantage of the procedure followed at Paris was that it enabled the participants to exchange ideas and information without the necessity of linking them all up in an integrated pattern. For this latter there was neither time nor an established common framework. The advantage lay in the encouragement it offered to an uninhibited discussion of the many problems raised. Each participant was free to draw the line of relevance in accordance with his own conception of the universe of discourse. What was remarkable was that despite differences in the social backgrounds and the political systems of the thirteen countries from which the participants were drawn, the discussion was well sustained and had something to contribute to every one's understanding of the complex problems.

3. The seven topics discussed at Paris in several sessions at the Round Table related to—

- (i) different types of Bureaucracy in modern societies;
- (ii) recent developments in the theory of democratic administration;
- (iii) participation by the citizen in the process of Government;
- (iv) Bureaucracy in political parties in post-war Europe;
- (v) post-war trends in public personnel administration;
- (vi) new areas for research in public administration; and
- (vii) problems of public administration in under-developed areas.

It will be clear from a perusal of this list that there was no attempt to exhaust the subject. On the other hand, there was a distinct effort to deal with those aspects of public administration which were closely related to the wider problems of political and social philosophy. There was greater emphasis on the functional and dynamic aspects than on the structural and juridical aspects of public administration.

4. The topics broadly fell into two groups : those dealing with public administration in general and those dealing with the nature and functions of Bureaucracy. In the former category, the most important problem that was considered related to the theory of democratic administration. Inevitably the first question to settle was one of definition. What was meant by democratic administration? Was it simply administration in a democratic country or did it refer to any other criterion of judgment? If it was simply administration in a democratic country, then there was no particular point in distinguishing between a democratic administration and an undemocratic administration. At any rate, the distinction was based not so much on the character of the administration as on the nature of the political institutions and practices prevailing in the countries concerned. The point was however made with some force that the administrative system was not merely a passive instrument to be wielded alike for democratic and undemocratic purposes. In a democratic polity even the administration took on a democratic character which was variously explained. According to one formula, a democratic administration (*i*) functions in the interest of the people and not of a class or section of the people, (*ii*) is susceptible to public opinion and respects civil and political liberties, and (*iii*) is subordinate to political control rather than being autonomous. In an authoritative State the administration does not generally conform to these criteria. Even in a democratic State a situation might exist where the administration is non-democratic. This might be so when an administrative system fashioned by a preceding regime survives into the next one for some time until it is refashioned.

The need for such devices as decentralisation, delegation and devolution in the organisation of the administrative machinery was understood to follow from a desire to make the administration more and more democratic by enabling the people to take a greater part in the administrative function. The criterion of efficiency by which the system of administration can be judged would itself be modified to fit in with democratic values. Thus, while technical efficiency might be best attained by a highly centralised system, "democratic" efficiency might indicate a certain degree of decentralisation in the administration.

An interesting offshoot of this discussion was the

consideration given to one consequence of the neutrality of the administration as between competing political parties which was accepted as a democratic necessity. The question was raised whether restrictions on the political activities of civil servants which followed from the "neutrality" concept did not in a sense contradict democratic values.

The important issues emerging from this discussion may be stated as follows:

- (a) To what extent is the normative approach implied in a discussion of democratic administration capable of scientific development? or should we rather speak, as was suggested at the Paris Conference, of a theory of administration suited to democratic States?
- (b) What are the acceptable external (exogenous) criteria of democratic administration?
- (c) What are the acceptable internal (endogenous) criteria of democratic administration?
- (d) What is the validity of the "neutrality" concept?
- (e) What is the basis on which non-democratic administrations can be classified?

5. Another topic which also dealt with public administration in general was in regard to the problems of under-developed areas.

Since the expression "under-developed" as applied to certain countries in the world has primarily an economic content, the question whether the current distinction between developed and under-developed countries could form a basis for the analysis of their administrative problems was raised. Was there any essential difference between administrative problems facing developed and under-developed countries? If, as was suggested, the under-developed countries were faced with administrative problems arising out of the process of transition, such problems have been and are being faced by the developed countries as well. Then again, all under-developed countries are not equally placed in respect of these problems.

The discussion fell into three broad divisions, *viz.*

- (i) the role of international organisations in providing

technical assistance to under-developed countries; (ii) the variety of problems faced by different under-developed countries; and (iii) research in public administration relating to under-developed countries.

On the question of technical assistance it was generally felt that sufficient attention was not being paid to the local situation in the assisted countries by those responsible for organising such assistance. The sociological backgrounds of the assisted countries deserved to be studied thoroughly by the outside experts before they could advise under-developed countries on their administrative systems. The importance of associating local talent with foreign experts was also emphasised. The need for co-ordination between various international agencies operating within an under-developed country was also stressed.

Many participants were critical of the current approach to the task of technical assistance which, they complained, was based on a mechanistic view of public administration. But it was necessary to realise that the administrative system in any country was, after all, a reflection of its social system. Experts in one country should not rush in to advise governments in other countries on the basis of their own, and necessarily limited, experience. The expert must not only study the local situation in its historical perspective but also seek clarification of ends before he turned his attention to the instrumentalities.

It was, however, possible to exaggerate the importance of the local situation by regarding every problem and every system of public administration as unique. Such a view would ultimately result in a denial of exchange of ideas and advice between countries which was such a healthy feature of the present times.

The second and the third of the above divisions were closely interrelated. While some of the participants coming from the so-called under-developed areas provided a brief picture of the special problems encountered in their respective countries, they also emphasised the necessity of extensive surveys of the field by competent experts. But that led to the nature of the surveys to be conducted. According to what concept should they be proceeded with? It was suggested that political scientists and the International Political Science Association could formulate basic conceptions

and provide some sort of a working model of the essential elements to be covered by these surveys. The technique of the study of comparative government may be of some help in this respect.

Issues for further discussion :—

- (a) What should be the nature and purpose of technical assistance programmes in the field of public administration?
- (b) What would be the most fruitful method of collaboration between foreign experts and local investigators in this field?
- (c) Is it possible and useful for further study to classify different countries with reference to some administrative criteria? If so, what should be the criteria?
- (d) What would be the essential elements in a comparative survey of public administration in different countries or areas?

6. The third and the last topic in this category of public administration in general dealt with problems of research in public administration.

As was only to be expected in a conference of social scientists, there was considerable difference of opinion on the "right" approach to the task of research in public administration. Broadly speaking three approaches were discussed; the legal, the technical and the historical. It was also contended that political scientists should be able to develop an independent approach of their own aimed at outlining the basic conceptions underlying administrative procedures and practices in different countries. The human aspect of public administration, it was complained, was too often neglected. Attention was also drawn to the need for an international terminology in order to avoid semantic difficulties.

Because of the multiplicity of points of view on the question of research, the discussion could hardly be called exhaustive or even adequate as a basis for further action. It would perhaps be quite appropriate for the World Congress to devote closer attention to this very important and very controversial question. The main issues for discussion

would appear to be (a) what are the lacunae in the existing material on problems of public administration?; (b) what steps are urgently called for in closing the existing gaps in this field?; (c) is it desirable to establish a working model of the basic concepts in public administration studies?; what should be the agency for such an attempt?; what concepts should be considered as basic?; and (d) what steps are necessary for securing access to information on problems of public administration in different countries?

7. In the second group of topics dealing specifically with problems of bureaucracy, four aspects of the subject were discussed. The first and the most important one was, of course, that of definition. What is a Bureaucracy? Who is a bureaucrat? Following the writings of Max Weber on the subject it was considered whether the adoption of an ideal type of Bureaucracy could serve as a model with reference to which bureaucratic phenomena could be identified. Three questions were posed: (i) Have all bureaucracies the same character and the same content? (ii) What are the various types of relations between bureaucracies and their leaders? (iii) To what extent is Bureaucracy the function of the social structure and to what extent does it take its character from a particular political regime?

In the course of discussion which ranged over a wide field, the characteristics of Bureaucracy such as its anonymity, its rationality; its function as a leveller of social inequalities, etc. were noted. The attitude of hostility and derision adopted by the public towards Bureaucracy was mentioned as a universal phenomenon. It was, however, pointed out that the pejorative sense attached to the word "Bureaucracy" had no rational justification. It was rather a result of ignorance of the role and the necessary procedures of Bureaucracy in the modern State.

It was stated in the course of discussion that the relation between Bureaucracy and the society to which it belonged did not receive the attention that it deserved. Doubts were expressed about the feasibility of a general definition of Bureaucracy applicable to all cases.

It was quite clear that there were great differences in the approaches of different participants to the subject depending on the political and historical backgrounds of the countries to which they belonged. The result was to re-emphasise

the necessity of further discussion of the three questions posed at the outset.

8. The second problem in relation to the study of bureaucracy discussed at the Round Table was that of participation by the citizens in the bureaucratic process. The widening scope of governmental functions and the increase in the volume of parliamentary business had tended at once to enlarge the Bureaucracy and reduce the effectiveness of popular control over it. This situation had necessitated the establishment of a more direct relationship between organised public opinion and the Bureaucracy. The establishment of consultative bodies was one of the ways of ensuring this relationship. The function of such bodies was partly advisory and partly that of sharing in the executive decisions. In some instances the association of these bodies with the executive departments of Government even extended to participation of the former in judicial decisions. The temporary employment under Government, of persons drawn from private business or the professions, the co-optation of individuals to elected and appointed administrative authorities, consumers' councils,—were some of the other means which could be adopted to serve the same purpose. These views were no doubt expressed on the experience of Western democracies. It was also noted that in addition to such institutional devices a wide range of influence can be brought to bear on the civil services through the Press and other avenues of public opinion.

Participation of the public in the bureaucratic process, despite its great advantages, could, however, be carried too far. There was for instance the possibility of advisory bodies being captured by pressure groups using their influence for selfish ends. If pressure groups thus succeed in taking hold of these bodies, the process was bound to operate in opposition to all accepted tenets of democracy. In consequence what might be advocated as a democratic practice to start with might eventually cause the destruction of democracy. The problem became particularly serious in countries where a plurality of economic interests existed as against other countries where there was no such plurality. Obviously, the problem had to be tackled with reference to the prevailing political conditions and traditions of each country. No single approach could be prescribed. The

discussion brought forth a statement of the experience of different countries in respect of such participation.

9. Reverting to different types of bureaucracy the Round Table devoted some attention to the question of the development of bureaucracy in political parties. At the outset, clarification was sought as to which elements in the organisation of present day political parties could be described as a bureaucracy. Was it the group of elected office-bearers of the party or, was it the more or less permanent staff of the party receiving regular salaries out of party funds? There was some difference of opinion on this question. While the paid staff obviously provided the bureaucratic element, the view was also held that since the office-bearers exercised power by virtue of the office to which they were elected and since their word had considerable authority, they too acquired the character of a bureaucracy. Here again, differences in the situations prevailing in different countries were pronounced. In some countries the secretariat system had not entered the organisation of the political parties to any considerable extent while, in others, it constituted a very important element in the decision-making process in the political parties.

An interesting question was raised as to the relation between party bureaucracy and governmental bureaucracy. In some countries, it was pointed out, the party in power tended to transform a part of its own bureaucracy into a governmental bureaucracy by appointing party officials to important positions in the government. The result was that the work of the party was, in such a situation, paid for out of the funds provided by the general taxpayers.

The functions of party bureaucracies differed in different countries. No generalization could be made as to the extent of the authority wielded by party officials in the political decisions of those parties.

It was also pointed out that the discussion of this problem need not be confined to cases where a competitive party system prevailed. The problems of political parties existed even in totalitarian states. What was the nature of party bureaucracy in such countries? How was it related to the governmental bureaucracy? Difference of opinion was also expressed on the definition of a party.

To sum up, the Round Table indicated how very necessary it was to probe deeper into the problems arising out of the bureaucratisation of political parties.

10. Finally there was the question of recent developments in public personnel administration. The situations in different countries were explained by the respective participants. Quite interesting developments were seen to be taking place in matters relating to selection, training and discipline of public servants in different countries. The vast scope of economic activities into which governments all over the world were involved, could not fail to have its influence on their personnel management policies. Special emphasis was laid on the question of political activity of civil servants. In particular the question was asked as to what safeguards were being provided for maintaining the political freedom of teachers in Govt. educational institutions. Here too, as in other respects, the practice varied from country to country. But there was an unmistakable awareness of the deeper implications of such questions.

Generally speaking the impression was gathered that there was a good deal of unsettlement in the long established modes of dealing with the problems of personnel management in different countries. There is obviously great scope for a thorough study of the changes which are taking place in this subject.

DISCUSSION

The working paper had raised a number of issues all of which could not be dealt with within the time allotted to its discussion. About half the time allotted for discussion had again to be spent in translating speeches in French and English into the other language, there being no provision for simultaneous translations. In consequence, only a few points were touched upon in the course of the discussion. The most interesting contribution to the debate in the opinion of the present writer was that made by Dr. Thorelli of Sweden who took up the question of "Neutrality". Speaking from the experience of his own country he pointed out how it was possible to permit a very considerable measure of freedom of opinion and expression to civil servants. It was a matter partly of tradition and partly of the institutional structure. Both were favourable to the promotion of political activity, on the part of the civil servant in his country where

the administration was in the hands of agencies responsible collectively to the cabinet and not to individual ministers and where the tradition of personal freedom was strong. It was obviously not correct to equate every British practice with the essence of democracy.

Mr. Crabbe of Belgium in a long intervention tried to define Bureaucracy. But in the end, he came to the astounding conclusion that it was only in the comparatively advanced countries of the West that the phenomenon of Bureaucracy existed; you could not, therefore, speak of a Bureaucracy in under-developed countries. Needless to say the view was challenged. While it was the privilege of scientists to define their concepts, they must proceed on the basis of objective examination of the phenomena under investigation and the distinction made by Mr. Crabbe did not appear tenable. The question of the so-called experts who went out to the so-called under-developed countries had been raised earlier by Prof. Friters of Pakistan. But he somewhat overshot the mark by stating that the Government of India had published the Appleby Report just to advertise the compliments paid by the American expert to that Government. Considering the over-all critical tone of the Appleby Report this statement did not represent the truth and the Congress heard a statement to that effect from the Rapporteur-General which was later quite spontaneously endorsed by the President of the Congress.

CONCLUSION

While the discussion appeared somewhat desultory, the general feeling was that it was for the scholars in different countries to pursue the various points in the working paper in terms of specific projects of research in the field of public administration. As in other subjects discussed at the Congress, there is no doubt that the study of this subject too will receive a further impetus by its inclusion on the agenda of the Congress.

“.....the endurance of organization depends upon the quality of leadership; and that quality derives from the breadth of the morality upon which it rests. High responsibility there must be even in the lowest, the most immoral, organizations; but if the morality to which the responsibility relates is low, the organizations are short-lived. A low morality will not sustain leadership long, its influence quickly vanishes, it cannot produce its own succession.”

—CHESTER I. BARNARD
(in ‘*The Functions of the Executive*’)

Targets and Stock-taking

S. T. Merani

A GOOD deal has been written about the ideals a Civil Servant should try to achieve. It is no less important to see how far he is, indeed, living up to them. This means a balancing of what has been achieved against what is to be achieved. In other words, there must be a process of defining targets and periodical stock-taking.

This process is found invariably, in one form or other in all well-run organisations—the family, the club, the army, industrial establishments, commercial firms, Government departments, etc.—and is fundamental to their success. The modern concepts of an integrated and balanced human personality and of rational action involve target-setting and assessment of performance in the many and varied fields of the individual man's life, *including his job*.

As the success of the individual in other walks of life depends considerably upon the success he achieves in his "profession", the individual—particularly the Civil Servant who has a special responsibility for promoting the public good—should, in his own best interest, formulate targets of achievement, set about earnestly to attain them and check periodically on results. Even if the organisation he is working for, has its own targets and appraisal methods, the Civil Servant should fix his *individual* targets and evaluate his performance at regular intervals. Such self-imposed targets and periodic self-assessments will not only enrich the individual personality but also help to create and spread in the Civil Service a new zeal and enthusiasm for a more efficient and substantive performance.

Targets of achievements in the case of industrial and governmental organisations usually take the form of annual appropriations, physical units of output and the like. The targets of achievements which the Civil Servant may set for himself, can be in terms of quantity, e.g. the number of cases to be dealt with, inspections carried out, or area covered and also in terms of quality and time taken, or standards of

conduct and behaviour, or all of them. These targets may relate to a day, a week, or a month as the situation demands. Where it is not practicable to define targets in precise and clear terms, they could be broken down into sub-tasks and sub-units—the total of which would give an over-all, though rough and ready, target. Targets of achievements will, obviously, have to change from time to time. They must also be set high enough so that there is an ever-increasing impetus to do better and better.

The periodic assessment of results is essential for finding out *how far* the targets have been actually realised. Stock-taking should, however, not be confined to measuring the 'lag' in the attainment of targets : it should also attempt to explore *why* the actual achievements fall short of the targets. Such stock-taking could be quite revealing : it might indicate that the targets had been set too high; it might disclose faults in the methods and equipment used or the need for acquiring greater skill; it might draw attention to defects in the structure of the organisation, which seriously impede the individual efforts for increased output, it might even spotlight deficiencies in individual performance or in "work attitudes". Stock-taking if undertaken on these lines, will assuredly help the Civil Servant to take remedial action—to re-define the targets, to step up his performance, to re-orient his behaviour and attitude to work, to improve his skill and methods of work, and to ask for the re-designing of the equipment and of the organisational structure if that is *really* necessary.

Personal stock-taking must, however, essentially be systematic and objective if it is to provide a real stimulus for self-improvement. Its conclusions should be carefully recorded in the diary of the Civil Servant to furnish a basis for corrective measures and to serve as a yardstick for future progress.

Voluntary target-setting and stock-taking have a special significance for Civil Servants who occupy supervisory positions. It is not enough for an officer to see that his subordinates do their work : it is equally, perhaps even more, important for him to ensure that he does his own work honestly and efficiently, and that he does not spare himself for any lapses on his part. It is only when an officer is critical of his own work and tries persistently to

improve his performance that he can inspire his subordinates to do a better job.

Target-setting and stock-taking can thus prove to be very useful tools in the outfit of the Civil Servant for the fulfilment of his dream of being the "Ideal Civil Servant". They would hold before him a promise of honour to himself and his country and equip him better for meeting his responsibilities so that when he finally lays down his office he may truthfully look back on his professional career as a "good job well done".

"The greatest crime the administrator can commit is to be too authoritative, too impatient of criticism and discussion, too quick to resent as disloyalty frank difference of opinion as to policy. Disloyalty arises when decisions have been taken, in lack of energy in implementing them, never in the process through which they are formulated. To treat opposition as something to be crushed or swept aside is to start the insidious process by which candid officials are turned into "Yes-men", creatures who first enquire what will be "liked" by their superiors before formulating their own views, who have lost the taste for honesty when thinking about the affairs of the organisation. Once that process is started it will corrupt a whole undertaking like a leprosy. The direction will be robbed of the greatest contribution the personnel can make to the undertaking, unbiased and fearless statement of the best thought of which they are capable. Enthusiasm will be stifled, ability frustrated and energy turned inwards to concentrate on self-seeking. The administrator who gives way to the temptation to use his authority to suppress rather than to develop the views of his subordinates is committing the sin against the Holy Ghost."

—L. URWICK
(in 'The Elements of Administration')

Problems of Government Publicity - 2 in India

Shyam Ratna Gupta

IT is the essence of democracy that every citizen should be free to form and to express his own opinions about how his Government is conducting the business of the country. This he cannot do unless it is recognised that, within reasonable limits, he has a right to know not only what has been or is happening, but also what is being planned.

There are three obvious ways in which this right may be realised in practice. First, individual citizens may ask the Government what they want to know. Secondly, the Government might, of its own accord, give to the citizens the information which it thinks might be of interest. Thirdly, the Press, protected by the fundamental right of freedom of expression, might ascertain or anticipate the questions of the citizens and also secure and publish the answers.

The first approach is not very practicable for the individual citizen, although it is being increasingly employed by organised groups of citizens. The demands for information of these organised groups are, however, generally concerned with matters of a strictly sectional interest. The second and the third are the easiest and the most fruitful ways of keeping the citizens informed of governmental activities.

Beginning with the organising of war publicity during World War I, there has slowly grown up in India a network of machinery—both at the Central and State levels—for disseminating information and news among the people. This machinery largely covers the issue of press releases and feature articles, the production and distribution of popular books, pamphlets, folders, posters, broad sheets, documentary films and newsreels, radio broadcasts, exhibitions, and public address systems. The Government has also recently launched an “Integrated Publicity Programme”—through a specially-created field publicity organisation—to evoke people's support and co-operation in the implementation of the First Five

Year Plan, and "to rouse in the common man a new sense of urgency and duty to the community".

This article is primarily concerned with the problems, difficulties and methods of keeping the citizens informed, through the Press, about the doings of their Governments.

II

Democratic society lives and grows by accepting ideas, by experimenting with them and where necessary by rejecting them. In an ideal world, the Press would always behave in a responsible and constructive manner avoiding dissemination of unverified or untruthful matter and always giving a balanced presentation of news and views. The pressure of competition, however, often tends to a strong affiliation to news and views which may be essentially one-sided and sometimes also to a deterioration of standards by resorting to sensationalism. These tendencies are predominantly in evidence today in most countries of the world.

The history of the Press vis-a-vis the Governments in India presents an interesting variation from the general pattern obtaining in the West. Under the old authoritative regime, the mass of the citizens was engaged in a struggle against the alien Government. The Indian-owned Press was entirely in sympathy with the citizens. Naturally, it tended to emphasise the deficiencies of, and to ignore whatever good there might have been in, the policies and actions of the Government. The Government, on the other hand, looked upon the Indian Press as a nuisance; when they could not ignore it, they tried to suppress it.

With the attainment of independence, Government and the Press have managed to steer a middle course. While the Constitution guarantees freedom of expression except when it comes in the way of national security, parliamentary democracy, public morality or decency, etc. the Indian Press, barring a few exceptions, has shown reasonable discipline and lived up to its proper role of reflecting public opinion, instructing it and giving it proper orientation and guidance.

III

The establishment of a healthy and constructive relationship between the Government and the Press in India has

been assisted by the development of certain institutional arrangements. The Government has evolved a system of giving information to the Press through the State publicity organisations.

At the Centre, this comprises of what is known as the Press Information Bureau, which "is responsible for the proper presentation and interpretation of the policies and activities of the Government of India to the public through the Press". It does so through its news, background, pictorial, feature and reference services to newspapers. Apart from giving factual information, correcting wrong notions and providing a link between State publicity organisations, the Bureau "advises Government on information problems relating to the Press, keeps Government informed of the main trends of public opinion as reflected in the Press, Indian and foreign, through a service of newspaper clippings which is perhaps the largest of its kind in the country and affects liaison between Government and the Press, including correspondents of the foreign Press in India". In addition it supplies "press round-ups", analytical reports, notes and statements on new trends in public opinion as reflected in the newspapers.

The Bureau maintains contact with all the Ministries of the Government of India through its information officers who advise them on their day-to-day publicity problems and arrange for necessary publicity by shaping information in the form suitable to the Press, answering queries, arranging press conferences and interviews and meetings with Ministers and senior officers, organising tours for journalists, and arranging discussions with visiting correspondents. The Bureau also supplies some of its services to all-media organisations of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry, publicity organisations of the State Governments and diplomatic missions in India as well as to press attaches with Indian missions abroad. The Bureau's photographic section supplements its services with news pictures in the form of prints or ebonoid blocks, which are available free to the newspapers.

The Bureau's services are supplied to the Press in nine languages—English, Hindi, Urdu, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Bengali and Marathi. About 2,300 Indian newspapers and periodicals receive its services. Facilities are arranged for correspondents and editors for securing

accommodation, telephones, priority in air travel, booking seats in trains, hotel accommodation in various parts of India, passport, visa and completion of customs formalities, etc. A press room and library, a photographic collection, and a reference section are maintained for the use of the Press, particularly for accredited correspondents, Indian and foreign, numbering over 120, and accredited photographers and cine-cameramen. With the growing importance of India in international affairs and, consequently, an increasing concentration of foreign correspondents in the capital and elsewhere, the Bureau has lately been endeavouring to meet specialized needs as well.

The Bureau is responsible for publicity in regard to the Armed Forces. This is handled by the Defence Wing of the Bureau. In addition to the normal Press services, the Defence Wing produces pamphlets, organises advertisement and poster campaigns in collaboration with the Advertising Consultant and produces news and feature shorts through its own service cameramen. Furthermore, it serves the defence services through its journals, broadcasts and cultural programmes.

The headquarters of the Bureau are located at New Delhi. It has regional offices at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Lucknow, Jullundur and Bangalore, all but the last linked by teleprinter with New Delhi. At the headquarters, each information officer is assigned one or two Ministries for purposes of publicity; while the bigger Ministries such as the Ministry of External Affairs, are looked after by deputy principal information officers. These officers are actively associated with and work for their respective Ministries, generally attend all policy conferences and meetings, and are expected to keep themselves posted with all relevant facts, especially those in which the Press and the public might be interested. In addition, the Principal Information Officer and some deputy principal information officers co-ordinate publicity matters and ensure that publicity of one Ministry does not sound a discordant note in relation to the publicity of other Ministries.

Though these officers work with the Ministries whose publicity they handle, they actually belong to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting which supervises their work and professional standards. Thus, the Press Information

Bureau is, on the one hand, a link between the Government and the Press and, on the other, an expert adviser to the Ministries and Departments on publicity matters and also a co-ordinating unit between them.

The Press Information Bureau does not handle India's publicity abroad, which is taken care of by the Ministry of External Affairs. That Ministry has a special External Publicity Division, with a number of Press Attaches stationed abroad in important Embassies and a central office in New Delhi. The Division collects and releases reactions of foreign press on India and adapts the Bureau's services for use abroad, thus "feeding" its foreign units in respect of developments at home.

The pattern of Government publicity organisation at the State level is somewhat similar. Most of the States have a separate department of information and public relations, headed by a "director" of what is variously called 'public relations', 'public information' or simply 'publicity'. The "director" has two or more "deputy" or "assistant" directors. One of the "deputy" or "assistant" directors is generally responsible for providing information to the Press about the activities of the various Government departments and agencies and for keeping the State Government apprised of the major developments as mirrored in the Press. In this, he is assisted, as at the Centre, by a group of information officers who, between them, cover the several State departments.

The State Directorates of Information or Public Relations usually have a special branch for covering district and local administrations. There exists for each district or division a public relations officer or publicity officer, whose main job is to promote the publicity, in the Press, of the Government's activities at the district and local levels as well as to create and develop public opinion in support of the Government's normal programmes of welfare and development. For achieving the latter objective, media other than the Press, *i.e.* the film, the radio, dramas, pamphlets, etc. are frequently used. The limited resources of the States—with respect both to finance and personnel—do not at present admit of the separation of press publicity from publicity through other media.

IV

The setting up of a separate press publicity organisation—at the Centre as well as in the States—was not by itself sufficient for developing a healthy and cordial relationship with the Press : it was found equally essential to employ and develop information personnel of high professional standard and integrity.

At the Centre, all information officers are, as a rule, recruited on the advice of the Union Public Service Commission and from the ranks of persons who have already some knowledge and experience of journalism. The same is more or less true of information personnel at the State level. Though there does not exist any special programme for organising post-entry training for information personnel, they receive intensive training on the job and thus develop *attitudes* and *outlooks* which in the long run help substantially in overcoming the many difficulties which they meet in their day-to-day work.

Some of the major obstacles which information officers have to face, come, surprisingly enough, from the administrative departments or agencies whose publicity they cover. There are many administrators who start with the assumption that the Press would avidly absorb any reports about governmental activities, since the Government, they imagine, are the 'biggest' news today. According to them, securing publicity for State activities should be child's play and they do not understand why the State's publicity organisation should have any 'problems' at all. Indeed they look upon the Information Services as superfluous busy-bodies and would rather prepare and duplicate their own hand-outs and send them direct to the agencies and correspondents.

Another type of administrator inclines to be over-cautious and would always prefer to avoid publicity about anything connected with his work. The information officer has to struggle hard to get from him even the information which the public have a right to obtain. There is also the opposite type, happily not too numerous, who are excessively anxious for publicity—either personal or governmental—and who hold that what they think interesting and important must also be of interest and importance to everyone else. The information officer has a still harder struggle to check such exuberance.

Very often, therefore, the information officer has to start by 'educating' his 'masters' about the true role and nature of government publicity. And he must have patience, tact, and the ability to "sell" his own point of view.

A really "live" information officer must combine in himself the three-fold roles of a watchdog, friend and guide—a watchdog on behalf of the Government, a friend to the Press and a guide to the people. He also has to be something of an artist, to create out of a mass of usually dull and abstruse material something which will catch the eye and appeal to the heart and, at the same time, inform and educate.

If some of the "problems" of Government publicity arise at the source, there are others which arise at the receiving end. Many journalists regard information officers as renegades who have chosen to run away from the storms and stresses of a highly competitive profession to the safe anchorage of official patronage. In the eyes of some journalists, the publicity organisation is scarcely better than a super post office and an information officer a nuisance to be put up with in their eternal quest for news. What is given officially and willingly tends always to be suspected, at least of not being the whole truth : the news-gatherers continually try, therefore, to by-pass the publicity organisation to get some "inside" information or an exclusive scoop.

V

Problems also arise, irrespective of the originating and receiving ends, out of the nature of the information itself. The press stories released by information officers fall into three broad groups. There is, first of all, the "constructive story" which throws a favourable light on a particular field of governmental activity—be it of progress in an administrative, educational or social field in the country—or of the triumph of a policy at home and abroad. There is then the "negative story" which shows up the lapses and shortcomings of the administration. In India there is also a third type of story, perhaps best described as "appointments story", which mainly indulges in speculations on appointments, promotions and demotions of officers in the public services.

The attitude of the administrator and the journalist to the three categories of stories mentioned above differs in

each case. The administrator looks at the constructive story as a good one, which, in his view, should be splashed in the Press. But the newspaper might not fully agree with this view and might be chary of accepting all the claims made in it or, worse still, suspect that it overlooks altogether the negative side of the picture.

In the case of a "negative story", the attitude of the administrator and journalist is reversed. While the administrator would naturally like to balance decline against progress, failure against success, the newspapers—at least those which thrive on the vigour or virulence of their criticism of the Government—would endeavour to "play up" the negative as compared to the constructive aspect of the story. Moreover, to the administrator sensationalism is a bugbear, a thing to be eschewed at all costs; for the newspapers it is one of the greatest temptations of their profession.

The speculative "appointments story" stands in a class by itself. It is always a good "box item" for the newspapers—even, perhaps the prelude to a possible "scoop" through the publicised personality. The readers, too, probably like such a story, for it is, after all, a sort of "success story", or the opposite of it—something that has some "human interest" in it. The administrators, however, regard such stories as not merely in bad taste but also an infringement of the code of conduct prescribed for public services. It has been said that "the cardinal virtues of a Civil Servant in a democracy are integrity, devotion to duty, and anonymity"; and the last is by no means the least!

What does the information officer do in each case? Faced with these diametrically opposed reactions of the administrator and the journalist to the three types of stories, how would he satisfy both?

Take the case of a "constructive story". Such a story often comes to the information officer in the form of an abstruse document written in "officialese", seldom precise and sometimes deliberately hedged with qualifying clauses. To prepare "copy" out of such material, the language has to be simplified and the "news angle" brought into prominence. Whether a "constructive story" secures publication depends as much on its style as on its contents. The next job is to "time" the story. On a "lean" or a "heavy" day, a

particular story might secure too much or too little publicity. It might be crowded out, or get better display than it deserves. Stories released before 3 p.m. and in the first three days of the week generally stand a better chance of publication than those released later in the evenings and towards the weekend. If nation-wide publicity is desired, some time has to be allowed to the Indian language papers for translation.

The information officer also has to acquire enough knowledge of the subject of the story, so as to be prepared to answer any questions the Press representatives may ask. He might furthermore be called upon to supply additional material to specialists interested in that subject.

“Blue books” and Government reports which are essentially a form of constructive story, are far from popular with the daily Press if given in the form in which they are issued. The information officer facilitates the work of the daily newspapers by condensing technical material and translating it into a language easily understood by newspaper readers. To the newspaper offices—always working under pressure of time—this service is of no mean value.

Negative stories, e.g. calamities, riots, disturbances, scandals, etc. which can be attributed, even if only remotely, to failure of Government policy or administration, constitute “big news” which the administrator would gladly suppress if he could but the Press would like to ferret out by every possible means. Here, the information officer’s role is exceedingly difficult. He has to handle the story with tact and diplomacy. To put up a “closed shop” sign in such circumstances would merely encourage publication of distorted reports, which it would be unseemly to contradict since contradictions might not only be ignored but might also actually give rise to other unfounded reports. In such cases a plain, unvarnished account setting out briefly and lucidly the details of any untoward happening, serves best to satisfy the Press and keep down speculations.

Negative stories, unfounded or exaggerated, frequently appear in the Press “without benefit” of the information officer’s assistance. The question arises, then, whether any official denials or clarifications should issue. This is not an easy task. To ignore the story might be construed as a tacit admission; to contradict it may only start further

wild speculation. The good information officer first gets the full facts and so drafts the official version as to bring out the most constructive aspects, without misrepresenting or suppressing the truth.

The "appointments story" places the information officer in an embarrassing situation. There are several stages in the finalisation of important appointments and even if some news-hawk has managed to get the correct information and gives it premature publicity, the information officer cannot confirm the news to other enquirers. When the story is purely speculative, the situation is still worse. The information officer cannot deny the speculative report—in case it does turn out to be true in the end. His best attitude to all such stories is to observe a sphinx-like silence, or to say "Ha Ha ! you wait and see".

VI

Many "*in camera*" conferences—far too many, some would say—are held at various levels in Government circles in order to hammer out policy. It is not easy to keep the convening of a conference a secret, especially when a number of persons are invited to participate in it. When the Press gets hold of the news, the information officer has a thorny problem to solve. The press representatives are naturally anxious to find out all they can, and searching questions are hurled at the information officer. If he knows anything about it, he is torn, as it were, between his loyalty to the traditions of journalism and to his respect for official rules. The best he can do is to strike a balance and prevail upon the authorities to reveal to the Press some bare facts about the conference, for instance, its duration, the names of persons participating in it and similar other details the disclosure of which is not detrimental to the interests of the conference.

A similar situation arises when the information officer is inundated with questions from press representatives about a subject on which nothing can be divulged to the Press either because that might jeopardise national security or because of its fluid state. The press representatives, known for their tenacity and obstinacy, never take "no" for an answer, and it falls to the lot of the information officer to keep them in good humour. Sometimes it is possible to give some information "off the record", putting the pressmen on their

honour not to reveal it prematurely. Such a generous, confident approach towards the Press, making it feel that it is a worthy co-worker in the task of national progress, pays handsome dividends. Rarely, if ever, has the Press betrayed the faith reposed in it.

The information officer has often to cover up minor lapses on the part of the newspapers and the administration. It will be too much to expect infallibility from the Press or the State, both of which have to depend, after all, on human beings subject to human error. Now and again, an irate administrator calls upon the information officer to explain why a particular report had been misinterpreted by a paper and demands that a correction be published in the same paper. Besides the fact that, according to the unwritten laws of journalism, no story should be repeated unless it is given an entirely new shape, the least suggestion of official pressure is as thoroughly unpalatable to newspapers as having to publish corrections. On these occasions, the information officer must unflinchingly defend the traditional freedom of the Press—the freedom to allow the newspapers to voice their own conclusions. Thus the information officer must, if necessary, act as a buffer between the Press and the State, absorbing the shocks from both sides and yet keeping a serene temper.

VII

This article presents the practical problems of Government publicity as they are faced by the information officer working in the State publicity organisation evolved in India: it does not attempt to examine some of the wider, more theoretical issues dealt with recently by the Press Commission in their report. A discussion of these may well form the subject-matter of another article, preferably by someone who is neither a journalist, nor an administrator, nor a link between them *i.e.* an information officer.

It would suffice, in conclusion, to observe that the Governments in India have, in recent years, shown a remarkable awareness of the useful part which the Press can play in a parliamentary democracy. There is also a growing realisation that the accelerated tempo of development activities in the country calls for greater attention to press publicity as an instrument of information and education.

A fuller use, by the Government, of the Press as a medium for gauging public opinion and reactions, as a channel for locating public complaints and tensions and as an agency for maintaining stable and healthy relations with the people, would obviously be a further step in the right direction.

“Technicians must learn than explaining ‘why’ to the people is generally as important...as ‘what’ is done. To induce the action of laymen...‘why’ is almost always the key. Experts and managers at central business or government headquarters, isolated and remote, tend to become impatient of making explanations to the people. From impatience it is a short step to a feeling of superiority, and then to irresponsibility or dictation. And irresponsibility or dictation to the people, whether by experts or politicians or business managers or public administrators, is a denial of democracy.”

—DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
(in ‘TVA, Democracy on the March’)

“The preservation and strengthening of our federal system depend in the last analysis on the self-restraint and responsibility as well as the wisdom, of our actions as citizens. If we are not willing to leave some room for diversity of policy, to tolerate some lack of uniformity in standards, even in many matters which are of national concern and about which we may feel strongly, the essence of federalism, even if not the legal fiction, will have been lost. We must also realize that it can be lost, or its vitality sapped, by nonuse of State and local initiative as well as by overuse of National authority. We have therefore as citizens a responsibility to see to it that those legitimate needs of society that could be met by timely State and local action do not by default have to be met by the National Government.”

—COMMISSION ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL
RELATIONS
(in their final report submitted to U. S.
Congress on June 20, 1955)

EDITORIAL NOTES

WITH the presentation of each new issue comes growing confidence that the *Journal* is serving a useful purpose. Along with it comes also a deeper appreciation and gratitude for all the assistance so generously forthcoming from those who are interested in the study and improvement of Public Administration, and of whom the contributors to this issue form a representative sample. The law-makers and the political administrators are represented by Shri N.V. Gadgil and Shri R.K. Patil, neither of whom needs any introduction to our readers; Prof. Kogekar's voice is backed by strength of academic authority; the professional administrators like Shri R.C. Dutt and Shri Indarjit Singh have written about problems on which they are personally engaged and to the solution of which they are making a significant contribution. A special welcome must also be extended to Mr. Edwin Samuel and Mr. Shiro Okabe who have long since attained international standing and continue to be actively concerned with the study and teaching of Public Administration. Coming as they do from Israel and Japan, they encompass between them the whole of the Eastern World.

We trust there is enough volume and variety of material in this issue to inform, interest and stimulate the readers. Particular attention is invited to the suggestion made by Shri Patil at the conclusion of his article. Indeed, we shall be glad to have the reactions of individual readers to the views expressed in any of the contributions published in any of our issues. One of the avowed objects of the *Journal* is to provide a forum for discussion.

As promised in our last issue, we now present the first instalment of "news of administrative interest" from India and abroad. The future utility of this feature will be greatly enhanced if readers will kindly draw our attention to any interesting development in any part of the world, which comes to their notice. A simple intimation will ordinarily suffice; we would gladly take over the task of collecting and verifying the details,

—Editor

News from India and Abroad

1. UNITED KINGDOM

Employment of Men and Women over Forty

In the face of the changing age distribution of the population and the need to make fullest use of the country's manpower, the British Government have decided to employ older men and women. Special competitions, open to non-Civil Servants and temporary Civil Servants will be held once or twice a year to recruit men and women between the ages of 40 and 60 to certain established (*i.e.* pensionable) posts in the Clerical Class of the Home Civil Service. Men and women between 40 and 60 will also be able to enter the Clerical Assistant grade as unestablished Civil Servants.

Rise in Pay of Civil Servants

Under the awards of the Civil Service Arbitration Tribunal announced on August 5, 1955, more than 500,000 civil servants and post-office workers would receive increases in pay, back-dated to July 1, amounting to £15 million a year.

Training in Revenue Administration and Economic Development

The British Council will organise, from 16th October to 17th December 1955, a course on the administration and collection of central and local Government revenues, in collaboration with H.M. Treasury, Revenue Departments and local government financial departments.

The Council also proposes to hold in the first ten weeks of 1956 (1st January to 10th March) a course on the problems of economic development, which is expected to be of interest to senior administrators and economists concerned with finance, commerce, industry, agriculture and communications from countries which are in course of development and other countries facing similar problems.

2. U. S. A.

Establishment of a Senior Civil Service Group of Career Administrators

In their report on "Personnel and Civil Service" submitted to Congress in February last, the (Hoover) Commission on the Organisation of the Executive Branch of the Government recommended the creation of a new "Senior" Civil Service group, consisting of "career" administrators. They would be carefully selected by a Senior Civil Service Board from all departments and agencies, solely on the basis of proved competence, and would be "neutral in politics" though they would work under the direction of non-career (political) executives. The Commission further recommended that the "career" administrators should be given a personal status, rank and salary which they would carry along with them to whatever posts they hold from time to time,

The main object of the proposed reform is to have at hand in the federal Government, a group of highly qualified administrators whose competence, integrity and faithfulness have been amply demonstrated; who will make it easier for the non-career executives to discharge their responsibilities; and who will add to the smoothness, effectiveness and economy of governmental operations. A secondary but related object is to make the Civil Service more attractive to men and women of high competence.

Cost of Red Tape

In another report entitled "Paper Work Management, Part II" issued in July last, the Hoover Commission observed that much of the information required of business and the public by the Government in the "wilderness" of 4,700 questionnaires and reports was simply not needed. The Commission found that a study group or "task force", set up by it, has been able to secure simplification or elimination of 26 forms and questionnaires. This cut in paper work would, it is estimated, save the Government \$5 million and the industries over \$10 million a year. The Commission further felt that if the work of the task force was continued by the Government, it could lead to an additional saving of \$100 million a year. Elimination and simplification of required Federal reports, it added, could be achieved without depriving the Government of essential data.

Commission on Intergovernmental Relations

The Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, headed by Mr. Meyer Kestnbaum, which was appointed by the United States Government in July 1953, submitted its final report to the President in June last. The report is divided into two parts: Part I covers evolution of the American federal system, the role of the states, national responsibilities and co-operative relations, financial aspects of the American federal system and federal grants-in-aid. Part II discusses intergovernmental functional responsibilities in certain specific fields, *viz.* civil aviation, civil defence and urban vulnerability, education, employment security, highways, housing and urban renewal, natural disaster relief, natural resources and conservation, public health, vocational rehabilitation, and welfare. Appendices contain ancillary material and the reports of study committees and members of the staff of the Commission.

The Commission has recommended the establishment of a permanent agency—in the nature of a staff aid—for devoting continuing attention to problems of intergovernmental relationships. The agency should consist of (i) a Special Assistant in the Executive Office of the President, to serve as the President's chief aide and adviser on State and local relationships, who would also act as a co-ordinating officer; and (ii) an Advisory Board on Intergovernmental Relations to be appointed by the President after such consultation as he deems appropriate.

Rise in Pay of Federal Workers

The Civil Service Committee of the House of Representatives has approved a 7.5% increase in the pay of more than 1 million Federal classified employees including employees of Congress, the Federal courts and the

Foreign Service. The President has given his assent to the bill embodying these proposals. The President has also signed the new Postal Field Service Compensation Act, giving an average pay increase of 8.1% to 500,000 postal employees.

Removal of Upper Age Limits on Federal Civil Service Commission Examinations

With effect from the 1st July, 1955, the U.S. Civil Service Commission has in pursuance of a rider on the bill authorising the Commission's appropriations for the U.S. financial year 1956, removed all maximum age limits in respect of its current examinations. The minimum age limits, however, remain unaffected.

Personnel Council for New York City

In pursuance of the recommendation made by Dr. Luther Gulick in the "Report of Mayors' Committee on Management Survey", a municipal Personnel Council has been set up in New York City. The Council consists of personnel officers from all city departments and agencies. The main objects of the Council are: generally to obtain the benefits which good personnel management can contribute to an improved public service; to provide a consultation and communication system for the exchange of ideas and experiences in personnel management; to serve as a testing ground for new programmes, rules, and ideas; to aid in the development of organization for personnel management in city agencies; to obtain uniform understanding and interpretation of the civil service laws, rules and regulations, standards, and programmes; and to advise the Department of Personnel on proposed or existing policies, practices, and procedures.

Courses in Comparative Constitutional Problems : India & United States

As part of the curriculum of the LL.B. degree, Stanford University, California, has started a seminar on "Comparative Constitutional Problems : India & United States". The seminar would be given by Associate Professor L.W. Ebb who has recently returned to the Stanford University after spending a year in India on a Ford-Foundation study grant. The object of this seminar is to study the constitutional framework and problems of foreign federations, as typified primarily by modern India, against the background of American constitutional doctrines. Major provisions of the Indian Constitution and key opinions of the Indian Supreme Court will be analysed. Selected topics will be drawn primarily from the fields of (1) federal-state relationships, particularly as they bear on the effective implementation of plans for the economic development of India; and (2) the relationship of the individual to the state.

Emphasis on Public Relations in Civil Service Examinations

The Civil Service Commission of the City of Seattle has adopted a new procedure to emphasize the necessity of good manners on the part of public employees. *Special Notes* have been written and inserted in examination announcements for Transit Operators, Police Officers, and employees in the Lighting, Water, and Engineering Departments. The examination questions

themselves are also framed to test candidates' abilities in public relations. The Commission believes these statements on courtesy will set high standards for new employees and remind present employees of their role as public servants. The *Special Notes* encourage city employees to make the most of their opportunity to arouse the citizen's pride in his city. Following is an example of a *Special Note* :

POLICE DEPARTMENT

Special Note: "As a City employee and a member of 'Seattle's Finest', an elite service, you will be a personal representative of the government of the City of Seattle. The extent of your courtesy, tact and efficiency will show our people and our many visitors, the value and spirit of our Municipal Government. Every citizen of this city will be your employer and you, in turn, must display a real professional attitude in all public, as well as departmental contacts. A Policeman and a Policewoman in a metropolitan city necessarily must conduct themselves on a high plane. They are part of the team of law-enforcement employees, consisting of police officers, judges and prosecutors, and much is expected of them."

3. CHINA

Payment in Kind to Civil Servants

The State Council has announced that from July 1, 1955, Civil Servants throughout China will be paid their salaries in food, clothing, housing and other necessities—and not in money. Government employees who might suffer from the change would be given cash subsidies from welfare funds.

4. PAKISTAN

Institute of Public and Business Administration

With the assistance of the International Co-operation Administration of the United States, an Institute of Public and Business Administration has been set up in the University of Karachi, with Mr. Henry F. Goodnow as Public Administration Adviser. The main object of the Institute is to provide educational and research facilities in public administration and business management, including a two-year course for advanced studies leading to Master's degrees in these subjects.

Pakistan Civil Service

Since the Partition as many as 143 officers have been recruited through the Pakistan Public Service Commission to the cadre of the Civil Service of Pakistan which has replaced the former Indian Civil Service and the Indian Political Service, besides a number of other officers taken in the various departments of the Government. About 70 candidates out of a total of 81 qualified candidates were appointed to the various Central Superior Services on the results of the Central Superior Service Examination held in January, 1954. Efforts are also being made, as far as possible, to secure representation of all Provinces in the Central Services without undermining efficiency.

A Judicial Branch of the Civil Service of Pakistan has recently been formed.

Training Schemes

It has been decided to set up a school for training of the candidates recruited on the results of the Ministerial Services Examination. A Director of Training has been appointed and a suitable school building is being constructed at an estimated cost of Rs. 62,600/-. The training school is expected to start functioning during the current year.

Pakistan Civil Benevolent Fund

The scheme for affording relief to the low-paid employees of the Central Government in cases of distress, which was so far confined to the employees at Karachi, has been extended to such staff at other places also. A sum of Rs. 50,000/- has been sanctioned by the Government for this purpose.

5. INDIA

Ministry of Iron & Steel

In order to secure close and undivided attention to the problems of developing and expanding the iron and steel industry, the Government of India set up, on June 15, 1955, a new Ministry—the Ministry of Iron and Steel—to deal with (i) Government industrial undertakings for the production of iron and steel, and (ii) Government-owned foundries.

Department of Company Law Administration

To cope with the increased responsibilities which will be thrown upon Government by the legislation for Company Law reform, recently enacted by Parliament, the Government of India have created a Department of Company Law Administration, headed by a full-time Secretary to Government, which will function as a separate and self-contained part of the Ministry of Finance. With the transfer to this Department of other related items of work, it will now deal with the following subjects :—

- (i) Administration of the Indian Companies Act;
- (ii) Control of capital issues;
- (iii) Chartered accountancy;
- (iv) Stock exchanges;
- (v) Industrial Finance Corporation, Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation, and Rehabilitation Finance Administration.

Administrative Vigilance Division

While it has always been recognised that each Ministry and Department of the Government of India must hold itself responsible for maintaining the purity of administration and the integrity of its personnel, it was found that these matters were not receiving prompt and adequate attention. The Government of India have, therefore, set up an Administrative Vigilance Division in the Ministry of Home Affairs, whose functions will be to

maintain close liaison with Ministries and Departments, to provide leadership and technical assistance and to co-ordinate preventive and punitive measures for preserving integrity. Each Ministry and Department has nominated one of its own officers to function as its Vigilance Officer. Under the control and with the support of Secretaries and Heads of Departments, these Vigilance Officers will review the organisation and procedures to locate vulnerable points and initiate prompt action for dealing with persons whose integrity there are good grounds to doubt.

Enhancement of Financial Powers of Ministries and Heads of Departments

The Government of India have substantially enhanced the financial powers delegated to Ministries and Heads of Departments in respect of the creation of temporary posts and expenditure on grants-in-aid, contingencies and stores. Without previous concurrence of the Finance Ministry, Ministries can now create posts, not higher than Class I Posts, on the Senior Class I scale or a Secretariat post, not above that of an Under Secretary, up to two years both on their own establishment and other establishments under their control. Similarly, Heads of Departments can create temporary posts in Class II, Class III and Class IV Services up to two years both on their own establishment and other establishments under their control.

As regards expenditure on contingencies and stores, Ministries can now sanction non-recurring expenditure *without limit* subject to the overall budget allotment or availability of funds by re-appropriation. They can also sanction recurring expenditure up to Rs. 1,000/- per annum in each case. Petty local purchases of stationery and stores can now be made up to an overall limit of Rs. 5,000/- by Ministries and Rs. 2,000/- by Heads of Departments.

Committee on Subordinate Legislation

The Committee on Subordinate Legislation submitted its third report to Parliament in May last. The Committee was constituted by the Speaker in December, 1953 to recommend ways and means for ensuring parliamentary supervision and control on the exercise, by the Government, of the rule-making powers delegated by Parliament through various enactments.

The Committee has suggested that all rules should be laid on the table of the House for 30 days before their final publication, that they should be subject to modifications by the House, and that as far as possible they should be in simple language. Suitable provisions on these lines should be included in the future bills which might seek to delegate power to make rules. In this connection, the Committee drew attention to the Estate Duties (Controlled Companies) Rules and felt that some of these rules should have been included in the parent Act, since they made provisions of substantive character. Similarly, the Committee considered that power given under the Indian Tariff Act to levy export duty on an article not included in the second schedule to the Act was of the nature of power to levy taxation on anything—a power of taxation which should not be vested in the Government by delegated authority and should be given only in regard to specific articles exhaustively stated in the schedule to the Acts.

University Degree as a Condition for Recruitment to Public Services

A Committee was set up in April last by the Central Government to examine how far and at what levels the possession of a University Degree is necessary for recruitment to Public Services. Other terms of reference of the Committee are : to consider the type of tests which should be instituted to assess the relative merits of candidates in an objective manner in the absence of a University Degree; and to consider measures to ensure that the numbers of candidates competing for posts and services under Government are not wastefully large.

The Committee is headed by Dr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar. After studying the replies to a detailed questionnaire, received from interested organisations and individuals, the Committee is now holding its sittings in different parts of the country.

O & M in Rajasthan

The State Government of Rajasthan have created a new Department of Methods and Organisation, on the lines of the Central O & M Division at New Delhi.

Separation of the Judiciary from the Executive in Delhi

The Delhi State Government have set up a nine-man Committee of legal experts to draw up a scheme for the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive. The Committee with Shri Teja Singh, former Chief Justice of PEPSU as Chairman, is expected to go into the matter thoroughly, examine its financial implications, and lay down how the scheme should be put into practice by stages.

Indian Institute of Public Administration

DIRECTOR'S QUARTERLY REPORT

I. Research Project

The Institute has started a research project on Municipal Administration in the Delhi State. The project is divided into five stages. The first stage, which is expected to be completed by the close of the year, covers a descriptive study of the organisation and functioning of the New Delhi Municipal Committee. The scope of the study will, in the subsequent stages, be extended to the Delhi Municipal Committee and other areas comprising what may be called the Delhi metropolitan region. Shri Din Dayal Sharma, Secretary, New Delhi Municipal Committee, is supervising the day-to-day work of the project while the Director of the Institute is providing the necessary technical guidance and advice.

II. Training in Public Administration

Plans are now being finalised for starting a short training course in collaboration with the Central Secretariat Training School. The object of this course will be to give special training and insight into the principles and procedures of personnel management. Ministries and Departments will be asked to nominate officials, who are, or are proposed to be placed, in charge of "establishment work", to attend the course. In the light of the experience gained, the question of organising a course of similar training for officers of the Finance, Budget and Administrative (*i.e.* housekeeping) branches will also be considered.

III. Library

During the quarter under review, the number of books and publications in the Library has increased from 800 to 1,200. The Library now contains a good representative collection of selected publications on Public Administration. It also receives 74 periodicals—30 on subscription, 39 in exchange for the Institute's Journal and 5 free of cost. A catalogue of the books available in the Library will be published shortly.

Under the Wheat Loan Educational Exchange programme a request has been addressed, on behalf of the Institute, to the Ministry of Education to secure from the U.S.A. books and other technical documentation on Public Administration, worth \$1300.

IV. International Contacts

Oxford Round Table : The Director was deputed by the Executive Council to represent the Institute at the Round Table of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences held at Oxford from July 10 to 15, 1955. The meeting was attended by over 140 representatives from 44 different countries. The Director was thus enabled to establish close personal contact with leading personalities in the field of Public Administration. He was also able, on different occasions, during the discussions at the Round Table, to explain the lines on which thinking and practice are developing in India in regard to many of the urgent problems of Public Administration. Particular interest was shown in the forms of management which are being tried out in India with a view to achieving a working balance between operational flexibility and accountability to the Legislature, in the running of public enterprises.

Public Administration Institutes Abroad : The Institute has entered into arrangements with 25 foreign institutes and universities for mutual exchange of information, books, reports and other publications, without payment.

V. Building Programme

The Government of India have sanctioned a plot of land measuring 6 acres in the Indraprastha Estate for the building of the Institute. Steps are being taken to secure possession of the land at an early date. The Building Advisory Committee of the Institute at its last meeting held on the 6th August, 1955, finalised the recommendations regarding the selection of a firm of architects.

VI. Regional Branches and Memberships

A Regional Branch of the Institute was formally inaugurated at Bombay on the 27th August, 1955, by

Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab, Governor of Bombay. The office-bearers of the Regional Branch are as follows :

<i>President</i> :	Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab, Governor of Bombay.
<i>Chairman</i> :	Shri M.D. Bhansali, I.C.S., Chief Secretary, Government of Bombay.
<i>Secretary</i> & <i>Treasurer</i>	{ Shri N.S. Pardasani.
<i>Members</i> <i>of the</i> <i>Executive</i> <i>Committee</i>	{ 1. Shri D.S. Bakhle, I.C.S. 2. Prof. S.V. Kogekar. 3. Prof. K.P. Mukerji. 4. Shri V.L. Gidwani, I.C.S.

Regional Branches in West Bengal and Bihar are expected to be set up shortly.

The ordinary membership of the Institute as on the 30th September, 1955, was 584. There are at present 30 corporate members. In addition, there are 150 regular subscribers to the Indian Journal of Public Administration.

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“Planned democracy cannot be the creation of abstract theorists. It must spring from the actual premises under the guidance of statesmen endowed with insight and imagination..... The ultimate test of a competent administrative organization for a planned democracy will be its capacity to produce new ideas.”

A. N. HOLCOMBE
(in ‘Government in a Planned Democracy’)

BOOK REVIEWS

RAJYA KARBHAR VICHAR; NARAHAR VISHNU GADGIL.
Poona, Chitrashala Press, 1955. 412p. Rs. 10.

This is the third of a series of four Marathi publications on political and administrative subjects planned by Shri N. V. Gadgil, M.P., who has long experience of public life, of parliamentary membership and of ministerial office. The first two books, published respectively in 1945 and 1951, dealt with Principles of Politics and with Political Organisation. The present publication treats the subject from the standpoint of Public Administration. The fourth one, which is to follow, will deal with law. That this series as a whole, and in particular the present publication, is the first comprehensive and systematic attempt in India at producing political literature on a high academic level is indeed its main claim to public attention. As the practice of studying important academic subjects through regional languages grows, the utility of such literature will be crucial. Both Shri Gadgil and the Marathi-reading public deserve to be congratulated upon the fact that for such an important subject as the Theory and Practice of Government a trilogy of high level works is already available.

The general and theoretical contents of the present publication have been based on well-known works. As such they are both exhaustive and informative. The difficulty of preparing technical phrases in Marathi to convey meanings which long practice has attached to certain words in English is indeed very great. Ultimately usage among writers and speakers can alone evolve a common and easily comprehensible phraseology. The attempts made by Shri Gadgil in this respect are courageous. For one not knowing English a fresh reading of the book is likely to be insufficiently illuminating on account of these specially created phrases and the somewhat involved constructions to which they give use. But at this stage, this plight is somewhat unavoidable. As the subject-matter of the book passes into normal discussion in the class-room, the press and the platform, a more easily intelligible mode of learned speech will doubtless develop. This is one of the educative advantages which will flow from conducting public administration, at all levels and in all forms, in regional languages.

The characteristic merit of Shri Gadgil's work lies in the large measure in which he has drawn on his first-hand experience of public life and administration. Almost every chapter bears the impress of this realistic touch. Prominent mention may, however, be made of Chapters 13, 15 and 16, and 20, dealing respectively with concentration of authority, services and planning. These are very topical themes not only in India but in all modern States. What Shri Gadgil has to say on these subjects is a study in "real-politik". Speaking about concentration (p.186), Shri Gadgil distinguishes between departments and ministries, and reveals the extent to which the ministries are really responsible for what pass in the public as the achievements or failures of departments. On the other hand, speaking about the unity of command or authority (p.189), he points out how in practice a decision which purports to emanate from a single authority is, in fact, based on and

moulded by the large number of consultants, advisers and assistants through whom it has to pass before reaching the final stage of choice.

Shri Gadgil is no friend of the "Spoils System", which he condemns. He is, however, conscious of the essential need to have a devoted and efficient staff to promote the large measures of social reconstruction now undertaken in India. He has voiced (p.214) a fear similar to the one which Laski had expressed before the Socialist Government came into power in U.K. Laski had felt, as Shri Gadgil seems to feel now, that a service composed mainly of members of the well-to-do classes and brought up in traditions of conservative rule will not carry out the purposes of a socialist government with a dispassionate or honest devotion. The present reviewer had criticised Laski's prognostications, voiced in his 'The State in Theory and Practice', as unfounded, as indeed they have actually proved to be. The same must be said about Shri Gadgil's views regarding the Indian services, which have shown an obvious readiness to carry out the purposes of the national State, with at least the same devotion and efficiency with which they carried out the behests of the foreign bureaucratic State. Not only the traditions of the service but a sharing in the progressive thought currents in the country are the normal props of a high administrative performance, especially in the cause of social progress promoted through state agencies.

The whole subject of an appropriate organization for planning in a Federal State, such as India, is at present under serious consideration among scholars as well as among administrators. What Shri Gadgil has to say about the supreme planning authority in India is, therefore, interesting. "In the Government of India", says Shri Gadgil (p.132), "there is an Economic Committee of the Cabinet consisting of members of the Planning Commission and some cabinet ministers. This Committee is responsible for co-ordination. In the opinion of the author, this arrangement is not quite satisfactory. The business of this Committee is conducted in a perfunctory (superficial?) manner. Some of the ministers are not qualified to undertake a comprehensive and detailed consideration; some have not the time to do so. Co-ordination involves a full comprehension of the objective, a knowledge of priorities and a determination to use all available resources in the most effective manner. A discriminating, comprehensive and realistic approach is necessary for this purpose. Only a master mind can bring about co-ordination in planning." Planning in a democracy is a very difficult, almost a challenging, problem of our times. It is obvious that not all bodies set up in representative, especially parliamentary, democracies, are quite suited to the functional necessities of social planning. All the same too much concentration of functions and power, even in wise and trusted hands, has to be avoided, if the essential values of democratic life are to be preserved. The practical limitations indicated by Shri Gadgil will no doubt be of interest in regulating the future course of planning administration in India.

—D. G. Karve

THE CIVIL SERVICE IN BRITAIN; *G. A. CAMPBELL*. London, Penguin Book, 1955. 383p. illus. 3s. 6d.

A HISTORY OF RED TAPE; *SIR JOHN CRAIG*. London, Macdonald & Evans, 1955. 211p. 18s.

We have not had in India, strangely enough, any comprehensive examination of our Civil Service system for over forty years, though great constitutional, political and social changes have taken place meanwhile, and other countries like England and the United States of America and France, where such changes have been comparatively smaller, have had one or more such enquiries with reforms following on their reports. Accounts of systems and reforms abroad have, therefore, a special value for India as likely to stimulate thought on our problems and so, perhaps, hasten the day of the appointment of a Commission on the Civil Services in this country. The two books under notice cannot be said to be works of the first importance on the British Civil Service; but they are useful descriptions of the system, Mr. Campbell's book as an account of it as it works today, and Sir John Craig's as one on its historical background, and as such both are well worth reading.

Mr. Campbell's book is certainly the more valuable of the two. He has served twenty years in the Civil Service, and though his work was mainly concerned with publications, films and exhibitions, he gives in his book a comprehensive account of the Civil Service in Britain today. History, structure, methods of recruitment, the conditions, standards and influence of the service, the different Departments and their organisation, the stages of financial control, delegated legislation, administrative tribunals, ministers and their relations to the services as well as to Parliament—these are all clearly described in the twenty chapters and nearly four hundred pages of the book, a good value for its price of three shillings and six pence. The book is not a critical examination of the Civil Service in a changing state like the studies by Finer or Greaves nor does it attempt to describe from the inside the work and temper of mind and disposition of a higher civil servant in Britain, as Dale has done. The merit of the book is in its comprehensiveness and up-to-dateness (the Crichel Down case is fully given, for example), as well as in the great amount of factual detail it contains. But Mr. Campbell can also be occasionally critical, as when he indicates his opinion of the outmoded character of many of the Treasury checks and balances, or of the tendency among officials to think too much of their prestige and comfort as well as to show themselves occasionally careless and intolerant towards the public.

Mr. Campbell's Whitehall officials do not, like the fountains in Trafalgar Square, play nowadays from ten to four; reforms since the second half of the last century, and much new work, have changed all that. But, if Sir John Craig is to be believed, perhaps they never did so. He is highly critical of the reforms of a century ago, especially the introduction of competitive examinations for recruitment, which are usually regarded as having laid the foundations of the present civil service. And he thinks that Trevelyan's attack on the calibre and recruitment of the service in his time was even a biased abuse of his position. Sinecures had already been abolished; and even when they existed, they were used, on the whole reasonably, for what

appeared to be national interests. And earlier, up to the Reformation, subsidised as the higher civil service had been by a share of the riches of the Church, this way of financing it was a rational use, at the time, of public funds to maintain a national service. Naturally, Sir John does not think much of increased numbers, or successive Royal Commissions, or the many improvements effected in recent decades. Graham Wallas thought that the creation of the modern civil service was the one great political invention of nineteenth century England; Sir John Craig, with forty years' experience in the service, retiring as Controller of the Mint, does not agree, and few will agree with him either. For all that, the book is an interesting, and even in parts amusing, history of various offices big and small, and some of the officials like Thomas Cromwell, Pepys, Chadwick and Morant, in the different Departments from the days of the domestics of ancient kings down to our own times, when a Sir Eric Geddes could say, when he became First Lord of the Admiralty, "Five Private Secretaries? I will have fifteen", and, according to the author, "personal assistants were in time accorded to officials for down the scale; to every man, a maiden or two".

—V. K. N. Menon

HIGHER CIVIL SERVANTS IN BRITAIN; R. K. KELSALL.
London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955. 233p. 25s.

Mr. Kelsall who has been the senior research officer at the London School of Economics since 1950 has to his credit several studies on economic and social subjects. His training and experience as an investigator of social problems, and his capacity to take pains are amply borne out in the highly interesting volume on the "Higher Civil Servants in Britain" which he has now published. "From which social strata is the Higher Administrative Class now drawn, and what changes have taken place in this respect over the last eighty years or so?.....How far have the developments that have taken place been the result of policy changes either in the recruitment of direct entrants, or in the promotion of those originally entering the lower class of the Service?.....What has been the relationship between the social origin, education and upbringing of Higher Civil Servants on the one hand, and their career-success on the other? Has there been any marked change in the status of their profession?" These are the questions which Mr. Kelsall has sought to answer, and in answering them he has avoided confining himself to the immediate issue and traversed a much wider field.

It is in this wider field that the main interest of the book lies to the administrators outside Britain, and perhaps even, one may venture to add, to those in Britain. Social composition of the Higher Civil Service is certainly a matter of considerable interest. Maldistribution in this respect, however, raises the problem of social justice, for which social and economic remedies have to be sought. From the point of view of the administrator, it is the quality of the civil servants that is of greater importance. Do the methods of recruitment ensure that the State has the service of the best talents available in the country for the remuneration offered? If not, what modifications in these methods are called for? In so far as the book throws light on these points, it is of interest not only to the practical administrators but to all those interested in public administration. And

the conclusions arrived at on these matters on the basis of the experience in Britain would have validity far beyond that country, which a study of class composition based on the social structure and the educational system in Britain can never have.

The historical account of the methods of recruitment to the Higher Civil Service in Britain is also of absorbing interest to all those who are concerned with the problems of civil service recruitment in this country. This interest is enhanced by the fact that in India we have inherited a system of recruitment which was based on, and was influenced by, the system which prevailed in Britain. It is natural that since independence this system should have attracted critical comment, arising, mostly, from the feeling that the methods which might have been good enough for a colonial administration are not necessarily good for the administration of an independent democratic country. It is certainly all to the good that the methods inherited from the past should not be uncritically accepted for the future, especially when the past differs fundamentally from the present and is likely to differ still more from the future. Nevertheless, the experience of a democratic country like Britain in dealing with its own internal administration cannot but have profound lessons for India, where a similar type of democracy prevails. To what extent have the methods of recruitment to the Higher Civil Service in Britain led to a conscious or unconscious bias in favour of the so-called upper classes? An answer to this question is highly pertinent to another question which is of great interest to us, namely—to what extent does our system also tend to perpetuate the type which the civil servants represented in the past?

A further matter which cannot fail to rouse considerable interest in this country is the extent to which a "*viva voce*" interview should determine recruitment from the open market. We have adopted "*viva voce*" as an essential qualifying test for recruitment to the higher administrative services. There is much to be said in its favour, particularly in the situation which exists in India. Nevertheless, the opinions of eminent persons which have been quoted by Mr. Kelsall are worthy of notice. Sir William Beveridge, for instance, is reported to have said : "I am rather suspicious of it, very suspicious of it, but I have not got any absolute evidence on which to base my suspicions.....I distrust my own tendency to be misled." Professor A.D. Lindsay favours interviewing as an intellectual test supplementary to a written one "because you get people who are very good examination subjects, who are nevertheless fools. At an interview you can see they are stupid." He is conscious, however, of the difficulty of interview as a test and adds "You are really fishing in the dark. You may hit, and you may not. It is very difficult to do it.....without any lead, not knowing what the opinions of the candidate are."

The chapter on "Women in the Administrative Class" has a particular interest to us in India where women are increasingly seeking admission to Government services. In this respect the British and Indian conditions are by no means similar. Britain has been free to proceed slowly and cautiously over the years; on the other hand, the Indian Constitution prohibits discrimination on the ground of sex, and leaves no room for experimentation. Nevertheless, the views expressed about the suitability of women for administrative services and the prejudices encountered by them are of great interest.

From all these points of view, if not for the immediate issues sought to be answered in it, the book should find a wide circle of readers in India, ready to welcome it and profit by the conclusions drawn by the author.

—R. C. Dutt

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF GUIDANCE SERVICES; EDWARD C. ROEBER, GLENN E. SMITH and CLIFFORD E. ERICKSON. New York, McGraw-Hill, 2nd ed. 1955. ix, 294p. \$4.75.

With increasing complexity in social organisation and the continual move towards specialisation at an early date, the need as well as the demand for guidance services in schools is continually increasing. When only a small fraction of the entire population was admitted to the privileges of school, and a still smaller number to that of collegiate education, there was not much risk of educated unemployment and the social maladjustment arising out of it. Today, secondary education is not yet universal but in some of the progressive countries it has almost attained that stage. Other countries are also pledged to the expansion of facilities for education both in quantity and quality. In India, the Constitution provides that educational facilities must be offered to all children up to the age of fourteen. Leaders in the field like Maulana Azad have indicated that they would like to go further and make secondary education universal.

In such a context, the need for careful selection of pupils for different types of courses according to the aptitudes and interests of the children becomes important from more than one point of view. In the past, education was largely unilinear. Today, there is a diversity of courses to meet the needs of pupils with different aptitudes. Careful choice of course is thus important because an unsuitable choice may lead to various problems in the school itself apart from the social misfits which are bound to result. It is also important in order to ensure that abilities and interests are matched properly with social needs and requirements and thus serve the best interests of society.

In the past such advice and guidance was very often the function of the family but the growing specialisation of work on the one hand and the loosening of family bonds on the other have reduced the effectiveness of the family in rendering this service. In many enlightened communities, guidance services have, therefore, become an integral part of the work of the school. This is only another evidence of the manner in which the school is seeking to provide many of the services which formerly were the prerogative of the family.

In India, guidance services are yet non-existent or rudimentary. The detailed account given by Professors Roeber, Smith and Erickson in the book under review will, therefore, be of the greatest possible use to headmasters and other educational administrators who are planning to organise guidance services. The treatment is detailed and scholarly and the revised second edition is a great improvement of the first edition which had established itself as almost a classic.

The authors do not hold with the view that "every teacher is or should be a counsellor". They feel that guidance services should be concentrated in the hands of a small group of experts. However, apart from other reasons, the fact that guidance has to be an individual service and each pupil is unique in his make-up, makes it almost impossible for any single expert or even a small body of experts to provide guidance services for all the children in a school. In order to ensure that such guidance is really fruitful and effective, the person who offers the guidance must have the opportunity of watching the children at close quarters and for long periods. It is obvious that no one except the class teacher and the parents can have the opportunity of such close association with the child. There should certainly be experts to advise the class teacher but any attempt to take away the major task of guidance from the class teacher and the parents and place it in the hands of a few experts is fraught with great risks.

—Humayun Kabir

ADMINISTRATION IN PROFILE FOR SCHOOL EXECUTIVES;
HARLAN L. HAGMAN AND ALFRED SCHWARTZ. New York,
Harpers, 1954. 315p. \$3.50.

This book, a volume in the Exploration Series in Education under the advisory editorship of Dr. John Guy Fowlkes, might well have carried the more appropriate title, *School Administration in its Basic Context*. It takes cognizance of the similarities or, indeed, some elements of identity, between the administrator of a school and the administrator of any other institution or agency, whether government or private enterprise. The two following statements, the first from the editor's introduction and the other from the author's preface, bring out the main point of emphasis:

"Administration may be defined as the exercise of leadership towards a given focus or purpose. School administration may be defined as the exercise of leadership towards the complete and desirable development of human beings. While each specialized field of administration is unique, there is a marked similarity or, indeed, a common strand between and among all "administrations". Focus of purpose is the differentiating or unique quality or factor in the exercise of leadership and hence administration."

"One may discover common elements in administration even though the nature of each enterprise is unlike that of any other enterprise in the vicinity. Administrators must plan, decide, organize, communicate, co-ordinate, evaluate, lead and otherwise function in ways common to administration whether the concern is selling merchandise at retail or providing educational experiences."

Chapter I presents school administration against the background of related fields such as business and industry, public administration, sociology, social psychology and psychology. The next five Chapters deal with the factors of leadership, purpose, organization, authority, and group interaction in administration. Chapters VII-IX analyse the functions of planning, communication, co-ordination, problem solving and evaluation techniques

with particular reference to the administration of schools, keeping in view also the contributions of other social 'disciplines'. The last chapter entitled "Emerging Theory in School Administration", is a stimulating and inspiring statement of belief and hope of what school administration should be and might well become if these basic principles and approaches are adopted.

This volume reflects broad scholarship along with intimate familiarity with the "practical" aspects of school administration. It deserves the attention of both theorists and practitioners of administration but especially of those who are responsible for administering educational institutions.

—K. G. Saiyidain

PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT; MICHAEL J. JUCIUS. *Homewood, Ill., Irwin, inc., 1955. 3rd ed. 722p. illus. \$8.*

One of the remarkable features of the twentieth century is the growing importance of labour-management relations. Such relations have become important not only to Companies but also to Government, politicians and the public. The news agencies report an increasing number of events pertaining to labour relations which have been made matters of prime importance by government officials and politicians. Apart from the impact of such relations on society in general the type of relations that exist between management and labour is a determining factor in the success or failure of the enterprise concerned. The problems connected with labour relations have become so important that Personnel Management has become a specialised function. Though a successful Personnel Manager should have the innate ability common to all persons who have grown to be Managers, it has been found and accepted that formal education and training in the art of Personnel Management goes a long way in making the task of Management easier.

What is Personnel Management? The author does not define the term but goes on to explain rightly that it is the field of Management which has to do with planning, organising and controlling various operative functions of procuring, developing, maintaining and utilising a labour force. The aims of good Personnel Management are to ensure that the business of the Company is conducted economically and effectively and that the objectives of the personnel as well as the community are duly considered and served. The author has covered almost all the major aspects of Personnel Management, such as personnel programming, job requirements, selection, interviewing, counselling, executive development, remuneration policies, Company-Union relationship, education programmes, etc. Within its 722 pages the book contains a fund of information collected from numerous businesses which have been analysed and presented in a form which leaves little to be desired. Throughout the book the author is objective in his approach to the problem of industrial relations and the advice he gives is based more on practical experience rather than on any theoretical and untried principles. For instance we cannot but agree with the author when, dealing with disciplinary action in Chapter 23, he says that though 'executive' should not hesitate to take disciplinary action when it is deserved, he should consider the effect of his action on the Company as a whole and not act as though his own department is all that matters.

In the chapters dealing with communications and education again, the author has given several suggestions which could be tried with profit by business houses. The same could be said of almost every chapter in the book.

The publication is a college textbook and like most textbooks coming from the United States it contains at the end of each chapter a list of questions and problems. These, together with the very interesting case problems appended to the book, should serve to sharpen the critical powers of students and test the aptitude of management candidates and trainees. Though meant mainly for use in Colleges, the book could be profitably read and used as a reference work by all persons who perform one or the other of the various management functions whether in government or industry. It may, however, be pointed out that the book is full of instances drawn from the United States and refers to the labour legislation of that country and cannot, therefore, serve as a comprehensive textbook on Personnel Management in Indian Colleges. There is, however, no good book on the subject by Indian authors and the students of Personnel Management have to depend upon foreign textbooks to be supplemented by the teachers with Indian examples. Jucius's book is among the good textbooks which one would recommend to the Indian student to start his study of Personnel Management.

—G. L. Bansal

GREAT CITIES OF THE WORLD : Their Government, Politics and Planning; *Ed. WILLIAM A. ROBSON.* London, George Allen & Unwin, 1954. 693p. illus. 63s.

No proper understanding of the magnitude and complexity of the problems of modern great cities has so far been possible. Prof. Robson's book is the first overall, world-wide, comparative study ever made in the field. The book contains a series of authoritative essays about the growth, development, government, politics, and planning of 20 selected great cities of the world. The individual studies of the cities have been contributed by eminent political scientists from different countries. They are preceded by a lengthy and illuminating general survey of the political, administrative and financial problems which the great cities are facing today and of the steps which are being taken to overcome them. The cities covered are Amsterdam, Bombay, Buenos Aires, Calcutta, Chicago, Copenhagen, London, Los Angeles, Manchester, Montreal, Moscow, New York, Paris, Rio de Janeiro, Rome, Stockholm, Sydney, Toronto, Wellington, and Zurich. A select bibliography for each of these cities is given at the end.

The central core of these problems, Prof. Robson points out, is that though the nineteenth-century assumption that "the bigger the city the better existence" is no longer accepted, no serious and comprehensive attempt seems to have been made anywhere (except in Toronto) to provide the metropolitan community with systems of government and administration designed to meet its present and future needs. "The great city of today lives by a miracle." The advantages of scale and specialisation in the provision of municipal services, which can be secured only by a great city with its large resources, tend to promote the integration of neighbouring

suburbs with the central area. But additional services which are necessary to meet the needs of new areas and "day visitors" cannot be adequately undertaken, because of financial stringency and the higher cost in bringing supplies from long distances. The influx of the people from rural areas into the metropolis continues unabated so much so that its suburbs are now "neither town nor country, but merely.....lands suffering from urban blight". Defective organisation, a medley of unco-ordinated, *ad hoc* municipal bodies, excessive bureaucratisation or too much intrusion of party politics in the day-to-day municipal administration, low level of popular interest in the affairs of the great city, even among the more educated classes—these are some of the important causes which are responsible for the unsatisfactory and inadequate municipal services. As the limits of the metropolitan area expand, the problems become more complex and diverse and the quality of service deteriorates. There is a growing tendency on the part of higher authorities to exercise increasing powers of control over the governments of great cities. While these powers have very often acted as a unifying influence, they do undermine democratic local government, and "without successful government in the local sphere, a country is unlikely to attain a satisfactory level of self-government at the national level".

Prof. Robson concludes that the problems of uncontrolled growth and misgovernment of great cities can be solved only by a more imaginative and balanced approach and a complete overhaul of the existing forms of municipal organisation and methods of work.

The metropolitan community should be taken to comprise not only the central core of the city but also its suburbs and "overspills". It is equally essential to control the growth of this community by placing a limit on its maximum size and population. This, in turn, implies control over the location of industry. There is also an urgent need for pre-planning the development of the metropolitan community on a comprehensive basis; otherwise, the dire consequences of the unplanned development would soon become painfully manifest. The family life in great cities should be restored to the privacy it once enjoyed but has since long lost in the rush and turmoil of the great city. A great city should not be a collection of large suburbs and semi-rural housing estates from where individuals have to make costly, exhausting, time-consuming journeys to and from their work. It should be so planned that each factory, each important warehouse and office is located in a satellite town or garden city where the workers can enjoy not only good housing conditions but also an agreeable environment and easy access to the country-side.

According to Prof. Robson, the reform of the metropolitan government demands both more centralisation and more decentralisation—centralisation of large-scale services which require unified planning, co-ordination and administration; and decentralisation of functions which can be best administered by smaller municipal organs. He, therefore, recommends a two-tier organisation. The upper tier would consist of a *major* authority for the planning, co-ordination and administration of large-scale functions for the whole metropolis. The lower tier would comprise several *minor* municipal authorities each of which would provide services of a purely local nature within its own area. The lower tier consisting, as it would, of a smaller and more easily comprehensive units of community life should be

able to harness popular interest and participation. It is only by a deliberate and consistent effort to educate the metropolitan man in the politics and government of the vast metropolitan community that the problem of democratic city government can really be solved.

Prof. Robson considers that from the point of view both of efficiency and popular participation, municipal enterprise *can* be superior to the public corporation. In his opinion, direct municipal ownership and administration is the most satisfactory method of operating public utility services in great cities *provided* (1) the scale of operations is large enough to admit of economies of mass production; (2) the city government is democratic and competent; and (3) the public utility services are run primarily not for profit, but for providing good services at the lowest cost.

The writer describes in detail the many and varied patterns of the municipal executive found in great cities—the city council, an elected mayor, an elected committee, an executive appointed by the city council or by the central government. While he does not recommend any specific pattern, he strongly disfavours an executive appointed by the central government.

The book portrays a remarkably vivid and realistic picture of the contemporary problems of great cities. Prof. Robson's comparative study of the recent trends of municipal politics and administration is quite revealing, as is also his analysis of the various complex and intricate factors which influence the growth and development of metropolitan communities. One could only wish that the comparisons and the individual studies were a bit more detailed. Being the pioneering venture in its field, the book will be read with great interest by all those who are interested in city government, town and country planning, municipal engineering and democratic administration.

—B. S. N.

EVALUATING YOUR PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT; U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION, *Personnel Management Series No. 6. Washington, Superintendent of Documents, 1955. 88p. 35c.*

IMPROVING ORIENTATION PROGRAMS; U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION, *Personnel Management Series No. 7. Washington, Superintendent of Documents, 1955. 25p. 15c.*

Both these booklets are in the nature of check-lists, meant to assist personnel specialists or "establishment officers" in evaluating and improving their programmes of personnel management and orientation. The first brochure examines the various aspects of a personnel programme, under three heads : "program elements", "keys to evaluation" and "procedure for evaluation". The methods and sources suggested under "procedure for evaluation" are listed primarily for finding out to *what* extent the required programme elements are present in the activities of administrative departments and *how* effective these activities are in meeting the departments' needs. The subjects covered include management, control, and direction of personnel programmes; formulation and publication of personnel policies; position classification and pay administration; staffing; merit rating; employee relations, services, and incentives; personnel records and reporting; and overall programme evaluation.

The second "Guide" is less detailed : it mainly discusses the principles which should underlie an orientation programme. The main object of an orientation programme is to inform the employee of his new environment and work and to develop in him a favourable attitude and a sense of purpose. The existing practice in the field in U.S. federal agencies has also been briefly described but no model plan for orienting employees has been presented.

The check-lists included in both the "Guides" can be used with advantage by all those who are concerned with problems of personnel management—whether in Government, private industry, or public enterprises. These lists can greatly help in an overall and detailed appraisal of personnel policies and programmes and thus facilitate remedial measures. It may be mentioned that the Central O & M Division, Government of India, is considering the question of bringing out a guide for "establishment officers", which would professedly serve a similar purpose.

—R.G.M.

DISTRICT REVENUE ENQUIRY COMMITTEE REPORT.
Madras, Superintendent, Government Press, 1955. 2 Vols. Vol. 1 : Report. iv, 180p. Vol. 2 : Appendices. ii, 106p.

The Committee has made a series of recommendations about increase in and upgrading of the posts of Lower Division Clerks, improvement of training schemes, reform of office procedures and methods of work, and expansion of staff amenities. It has suggested that the selection of the village development officers should be made through the Madras Public Service Commission from among the experienced clerks of the Revenue Department. (Incidentally, the Central Programme Evaluation Organization feels otherwise : the practice of appointing revenue staff to development posts should be curtailed.) The Committee has further laid special emphasis on the devolution of greater powers on Tahsildars and "Personal Assistants" of the Collectors, and has observed that only the Senior Deputy Collectors should be posted as "Personal Assistants".

The views of the Committee on the current system of "efficiency rating" or confidential reports deserve a special notice. The Committee has found that notwithstanding the instructions contained in the District Office Manual, there seems to be a "considerable truth in the complaint that adverse remarks of a remediable nature are not generally being communicated to the employees. After careful examination of the merits and demerits of "open access" and "grading" systems, the Committee concludes that the prevailing system has much to recommend itself, provided a list of "remediable" defects is incorporated in the relevant rules.

The Committee feels that there is at present insufficient appreciation, on the part of the public, of a certain amount of delay implicit in the process of work in the Revenue Department. Apart from suggesting other measures for improving public relations, it has strongly recommended the publication of a brochure which should not only indicate the general set-up of the Revenue Department but also inform the public of the correct procedures for dealing with the Department.

—J. M. K.